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Texas Alsatian: Henri Castro's Legacy

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Dedication

To my paternal grandmother, Rosa Lee Hawkins Collins,
a Texas-German speaker,
and
My mother, Joanne Powell Collins,
who set an example for me in her achievement of high academic goals

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Texas Alsatian: Henri Castro's Legacy

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Supervisor: Hans C. Boas

This study constitutes the first in-depth description and analysis of Texas Alsatian as spoken in Medina County, Texas, in the twenty-first century. The Alsatian dialect was transported to Texas in 1842, when the entrepreneur Henri Castro recruited colonists from the Alsace to fulfill the Texas Republic's stipulations for populating his land grant located to the west of San Antonio.

Texas Alsatian (TxAls) is a dialect distinct from other varieties of Texas German (Gilbert 1972: 1, Salmons 1983: 191) and is mainly spoken in Eastern Medina County in and around the city of Castroville. With a small and aging speaker population, it has not been transmitted to the next generation and will likely survive for only another two to three decades. Despite this endangered status, TxAls is a language undergoing death with minimal change.

This study provides both a descriptive account of TxAls and discussions on extra-linguistic factors linked to ethnic identity and language loyalty, which have enabled the maintenance of this distinctive Texas German dialect for 150 years. To investigate the extent of the maintenance of lexical, phonological, and morphological features, this study

identifies the main donor dialect(s), Upper Rhine Alsatian, and compares its linguistic features to those presently maintained in the community, based on current data collected between 2007 and 2009 and Gilbert's (1972) data collected in the 1960s.

This discussion of TxAls is three-fold: (1) an analysis of social, historical, political, and economic factors affecting the maintenance and decline of TxAls, (2) a detailed structural analysis of the grammatical features of TxAls, supported by a description of its European donor dialect and substantiated by Gilbert's (1972) data, and (3) a discussion of the participants' attitudes toward their ancestral language, which have either contributed to the maintenance of TxAls, or are now accelerating its decline, based on responses to a survey developed for the TxAls community, the *Alsatian Questionnaire*.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

. . . with the exception of Alsatian and East Friesland Low German in Medina County . . . it is indeed a rare event to find someone who can consciously speak a type of language markedly different from that which prevails among his neighbors . . .

-- Glenn Gilbert (1972: 1)

1.1 INTRODUCTION: RATIONALE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study constitutes the first in-depth description and analysis of Texas Alsatian as spoken in Medina County, Texas, in the twenty-first century. The Alsatian dialect was transported to Texas in 1842, when the entrepreneur Henri Castro recruited colonists from the Alsace to fulfill the Texas Republic's stipulations for populating his land grant located to the west of San Antonio. Texas Alsatian is a dialect¹ distinct from other varieties of Texas German (Gilbert 1972: 1, Salmons 1983: 191) and is mainly spoken in Eastern Medina County in and around the city of Castroville. With a small and aging speaker population, Texas Alsatian has not been transmitted to the next generation and will likely survive for only another two to three decades. Despite this endangered status, Texas Alsatian appears to be a language undergoing death with minimal change.² This study provides both a descriptive account of Texas Alsatian and discussions of

¹ Boas (2009a: 2) refers to Texas German as a language in functional and distributional contexts because it functions as one when juxtaposed with English in Texas, but as a dialect when comparing its linguistic properties with other German varieties. The distinction is maintained in this study.

² That is, without considerable structural and semantic loss. Many accounts of languages in contact situations and typologies focus upon the structural (simplification, regularization) and semantic loss in dying languages (e.g. Dorian 1978, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, Dressler 1988, Campbell & Muntzel 1989, Wolfram 2002, Brenzinger 1992a, Tsunoda 2005, etc.).

sociolinguistic processes linked to ethnic identity and loyalty which have enabled the maintenance of this distinct German dialect for 150 years.

Texas Alsatian speakers have maintained several distinctive lexical, grammatical, and phonological features of their ancestral language, Alsatian, into the sixth generation. To investigate the extent of this maintenance,³ this study identifies the main donor dialect of the Texas Alsatian community, Upper Rhine Alsatian, and compares its linguistic features to those presently maintained in the community based on data collected in 2007-2009 and Gilbert's (1972) data collected in the 1960s. Weinreich (1953: 44) emphasizes that the components of an explanatory framework when examining languages in contact situations must include (1) "purely structural considerations, (2) psychological reasons and (3) socio-cultural factors" (cited in Winford 2003: 10). Previous studies⁴ of Texas German have mainly focused upon a linguistic description or structural analysis,⁵ but my study also inquires into attitudes and ideologies instrumental to the maintenance of Texas Alsatian which revolve around language and cultural identity, as well as those attitudes now contributing to its rapid decline.

This study informs research on several levels. In general, it contributes to the body of research on linguistic developments (maintenance, change, loss) and sociolinguistic processes which motivate these developments. Languages in contact often act as a "natural laboratory" of language change to study processes and grammatical functions which are not evident in monolingual situations (Matras 1998: 282). In addition, it simultaneously informs research on other languages in contact

³ Language maintenance refers to the preservation of a speech community's ancestral language (AL) from generation to generation (Winford 2003: 11).

⁴ E.g., Eikel 1949, 1966a, 1966b, 1967, Gilbert 1972, Guion 1996, Fuller & Gilbert 2003, Boas 2003, 2005, Boas & Weilbacher 2009.

⁵ Salmons (1983) and Boas (2005, 2009a) include an analysis of socio-cultural and historical factors influencing the decline of TxG in their research. Guion (1996) also makes an argument for psychological motivation as the cause for certain morphological innovations in the speech of younger Texas Germans in Gillespie County.

situations and related phenomena such as structural attrition, lexical borrowing, and code-switching. The study also represents the paradigm of an endangered German-American dialect undergoing minimal change and offers data for comparative studies with other German-American dialects (cf. Huffines 1989, Born 1994, Keel 1994, Nützel 1998, Loudon 2003, Nicolini 2003, Boas 2009a), as well as for studies of German *Sprachinseln* in other countries (Damke 1997, Berend 2003, Clyne 2003).

More specifically, this dissertation offers a case study of a dialect which resisted absorption into a developing Texas German koiné.⁶ Additionally, it provides a unique diachronic measuring stick for the study of language change in TxG dialects, as it is possible to trace the donor dialects of current Texas Alsatian speakers to specific villages in the Alsace, which is often impossible to ascertain for other varieties of Texas German. This provides data for evaluating developments in the TxAls dialect more accurately in terms of linguistic processes involved in language change such as attrition and related questions of cause, i.e., internally or externally-motivated (contact-driven) change. Specific implications for these different research areas are addressed in the conclusion.

Only minimal research (see below) exists to date on the linguistic structure of Texas Alsatian (hereafter TxAls) and no study exists addressing sociolinguistic aspects of the speech community. This study overcomes the lack of data on this dialect by addressing the following questions:

⁶ Siegel (1985: 363) defines koiné as the “stabilized result of mixing of linguistic subsystems such as regional or literary dialects. It usually serves as a lingua franca . . . and is characterized by a mixture of features of these varieties and most often by reduction or simplification.” Boas (2009a: 2) argues that Texas German only completed the beginning stages toward the formation of a New World dialect (Trudgill 2004).

1. What are some linguistic features of the European donor dialect(s) that have been maintained in TxAls?
2. How does TxAls differ from its European donor dialect(s)?
3. How does TxAls differ from other varieties of TxG?
4. Which linguistic features and extra-linguistic factors serve as identity markers for the community of TxAls speakers?
5. Which ideologies and speaker attitudes have contributed to the linguistic preservation of TxAls?
6. Which extra-linguistic factors are triggering the rapid decline of TxAls in progress?

The breath of the topic undertaken in this study and its largely descriptive nature necessarily involves exploring various theoretical frameworks from a variety of perspectives relevant to language contact situations. These are introduced within a literature review and discussed in each chapter according to their relevance to the chapter topic. For example, the linguistic preservation of TxAls is investigated within sociolinguistic frameworks in Chapter Six. Here, TxAls is examined within the concept of language as a “badge of identity” (Epps 2006). Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, & Reitz (2000) create a taxonomy of ethnic behavior in their study of ethnic identity in Canada which is insightful and facilitates the discussion of linguistic maintenance. Breton et al. (2000: 35-37) distinguish between internal and external aspects of ethnic behavior. External aspects are observable behavior, such as speaking in an ethnic language, practicing ethnic traditions, participation in personal ethnic networks, institutional and voluntary organizations, and functions sponsored by ethnic organizations, while internal aspects are subjective and include attitudes, ideas, images, and feelings. The Alsatian Questionnaire I developed in 2007 investigates these internal and external aspects of ethnic identity to facilitate the discussion of language maintenance and death.

Several seminal studies on Texas German serve as the common thread for my analysis of Texas Alsatian throughout the study. Gilbert's (1972) linguistic survey of Texas German of thirty-one counties in the 1960s included Medina County and provides the only diachronic data on Texas Alsatian. Gilbert (1972: 1, 18) makes reference to the Alsations and Low Alemannic dialect features of eastern Medina County, but presents no specific analysis of the dialect.⁷ Several distinctive Alsatian phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features are evident in Gilbert's maps, however, which often show Medina County participants utilizing forms that are only rarely found in the remaining thirty counties. Gilbert (1972: 17-18) also notes Alsatian lineage for thirteen⁸ of the twenty-seven Medina County participants in his field notes on the participants. Judging by the birthdates provided, many of his informants represent the parent generation of participants in this study and therefore constitute an important comparative base.

As early as the 1940s, Fred Eikel interviewed inhabitants of New Braunfels in Comal County, Texas. He published his findings on the phonology, morphology, and syntax of New Braunfels German in a series of publications (Eikel 1949, 1966a, 1966b, 1967). Boas (2009a) builds upon earlier data from Eikel (1954) and Gilbert (1972) together with current data from the Texas German Dialect Archive⁹ to present a more complete picture of the Texas German language and its decline. Whereas Boas (2009a) focuses on the predominant Texas German variety found in New Braunfels whose donor

⁷ Gilbert (1972) only briefly remarks on this "markedly different" language in his introduction.

⁸ Participant #s 4, 7-9, 12, 18-21, 23-25, 27 (#21 was recorded on tape). Eight of these participants consistently exhibit distinctive Alsatian characteristics: #s 9, 19-21, 23-25, 27 (see Example 3.1). Many of these participants also indicated ancestors from Germany (#s 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13-16, 22, 26) and Gilbert often noted whether they spoke "High German" (#4, 8) or Low German at home. Participants 2, 16, 22 were designated as fluent Low German speakers by Gilbert, who recorded some of their conversation on tape (1972: 17-18).

⁹ Recent research on TxG directed by Boas has resulted in the creation of the *Texas German Dialect Archive*, a database published online at www.tgdp.org that was created for research and preservation purposes (Boas 2003, 2006, Boas et al. forthcoming). This data is recorded and processed via aid of research assistants to document native TxG speakers. Data is collected from sociolinguistic interviews, elicitation tasks using Gilbert's (1972) and Eikel's (1954) lists, and biographical surveys.

dialects are those of north-central Germany and mutually intelligible with Standard German (Boas 2009a: 2), this study investigates an enclave of immigrants from a different Germanic dialect area located today in eastern France, which differentiates itself from the Texas German koiné (Gilbert 1972) in many respects and is only mutually intelligible with other Texas German dialects after prolonged contact. Boas (2009a) also investigates attitudes pertinent to the decline of Texas German which serve as an important base for comparison with Texas Alsatian. He concludes that the continued stigmatization due to earlier sociolinguistic developments and the current low practical value of Texas German will lead to its disappearance in the next three to four decades (Boas 2009a: 291). Other factors of education, migration, and the resulting loss of group vitality are examined as contributing factors (Boas 2009a: 244).

Also pertinent to the analysis are the methods employed in selecting participants and collecting data, which are described in the following section.

1.2 METHODOLOGY AND DATA

I conducted interviews and surveys in Castroville and environs from January 2007 through May 2009 to record and analyze the extant TxAls dialect spoken in Medina County, Texas. Thirty-six (36) TxAls speakers of varying linguistic competence were interviewed.¹⁰ For comparative purposes, ten (10) TxG speakers from the adjacent communities of Hondo and Quihi, and ten (10) European Alsatian speakers from the Upper and Lower Rhine departments were also interviewed. Community historians, priests, former mayors, and other residents involved in historical preservation efforts

¹⁰ Nine of these either declined to speak Alsatian during the interview or are “formerly fluent” speakers, to use the term from Dorian (1982b), who prefer to speak English. As a result, only twenty-seven (27) complete data samples (narratives in Alsatian and Gilbert 1972 resamplings) were procured.

were also included in the data collection process. The interviews of Alsatian speakers were mainly conducted within a ten-mile radius of Castroville. Additional interviews were conducted in two other smaller centers of Alsatian heritage, D'Hanis, another Castro colony established twenty miles west of Castroville in 1847, and LaCoste, five miles southeast of Castroville, founded when the railroad pushed through the county in the 1880s. Further references to Castroville and TxAls in this study include the speakers in these communities.

The initial search criterion for participants was self-identification of the participant as a native speaker of Texas Alsatian, which encompassed all levels of competence. Community contact was established through the local Chamber of Commerce, which recommended the current leader of an Alsatian language class featured in their Visitors Guide. The snowball technique (Johnstone 2000: 92; Milroy & Gordon 2003: 32), which involves using the social networks of the informants to identify potential participants, was employed to make subsequent contacts, as it was often difficult to convince TxAls speakers of the importance of participating in the documentation of their language. Recruitment of participants was made even more difficult due to issues of health or the absence of a telephone in the household. At an early point in the interview process, spouses who spoke TxG were included in order to collect comparative data. This was also further expanded to include native speakers of TxG in Castroville.

I utilized similar methods of data collection as those used for the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP) (Boas et al., forthcoming) and conducted interviews in the same spirit of documenting for preservation purposes, but with the additional goal of establishing effective preservation strategies of TxAls for the Castroville community. Phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical data were obtained from participants using

open-ended interview techniques and elicitation tasks. The interviews spanned approximately 2 - 2 ½ hours and covered a variety of topics, such as language use, family history, and childhood experiences.

All interviews were digitally recorded, coded, and stored for transcription and analysis (see *Appendix F* for sample transcriptions). These TxAls interviews are archived for academic and instructional use in the Texas German Dialect Archive (Boas 2006). Transcriptions of narratives were recorded in a modified German orthography to facilitate rapid comprehension. These occasionally include the symbols *â* [ɔ] and *ř* [r] (used by Gilbert 1972 for the apical trill) for contrastive comparison with SG.¹¹ IPA phonetic transcriptions were used to transcribe those instances which necessitated a comparison with SG or TxG, as in the 2009 resamplings that are compared with Gilbert (1972) data.¹²

In order to elicit a controlled data set (especially useful for phonology), participants were asked to produce TxAls translations for a list of English lexical and grammatical items compiled by Gilbert in the 1960s (*Appendix D*) to provide a diachronic basis for comparison. In some cases, the Eikel (1954) list (*Appendix E*) was incorporated when time and health of the informants permitted. Each participant also completed a written biographical survey eliciting personal data such as religious affiliation and educational level, as well as opinions, feelings, and beliefs towards aspects of the TxAls and TxG languages.

Initially, a written survey developed by the TGDP (*Appendix C*) was used for this purpose in the absence of a more Alsatian-specific one, and provides data on four

¹¹ SG does not have a velarized phoneme as found in ALS.

¹² However, Gilbert (1972) does not consistently use phonetic transcriptions, preferring instead to utilize certain “lead forms” or phonemic transcriptions for vowels. On the other hand, he does transcribe certain phonemes phonetically, such as those for /r/, when the analysis focuses upon the allophonic realization of a particular phoneme.

participants in this study.¹³ However, to address TxAls as a community distinct from other western TxG communities, I developed a survey (*Appendix B*) which treated TxAls as a separate dialect and specifically addressed attitudes unique to the TxAls-speaking community, such as views on the use, prestige, and grammaticality of their own dialect versus other varieties of TxG. Thirty-six (36) Alsatian questionnaires (including four from non-speakers) and four TGDG questionnaires which provided overlapping information were returned, which provide the basis for my analysis on attitudes and language choice in Chapter Six. The survey data was expanded by distributing the questionnaires to the memberships of the Castro Colonies Heritage Association, Chamber of Commerce, and the representative Catholic churches in the area, but with little response.

Questions have been raised as to the reliability of self-reported data and to the limitations of categorical responses typical of written questionnaires (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 52). To compensate somewhat for the limitations of this data collection method, many of these same questions were posed in the interview sessions. Additional comment sections were periodically spaced throughout the questionnaire. The questionnaire responses are displayed by number instead of percentage in data tables under each chart, in consideration of the relatively small sample number, but percentages are calculated and used when comparing data with other studies.

The Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972) should also be considered when viewing data collected during the open-ended interviews and translation tasks. Even though I was acknowledged fairly quickly as a semi-insider (see §6.4), the participants were aware of the specific goal to document their ancestral language, and exercised great care to

¹³ These four participants were later sent the Alsatian Questionnaire. Unfortunately, one participant died before I could gather the additional information, and there was no response from the remaining three informants.

produce Alsatian lexical items, especially in the translation tasks. To offset this “observer’s paradox,” I conducted open-ended interviews which included “getting to know” the participant and his interests, in order to elicit as “natural” (Wolfson 1997) a sample as possible. I also attended many informal group community events where TxAls was spoken as a participant observer such as lunches, celebrations, and the local men’s *Kaffeeklatsch*,¹⁴ as well as those between French Alsations and TxAls in Castroville and in the Alsace.

Before presenting a profile of these participants, a general introduction to TxAls clarifies its particular linguistic heritage.

1.3 WHAT IS TEXAS ALSATIAN?

Historically, Alsatian was spoken by the Alamans, a major tribe of the Herminones who occupied Southern Germany and parts of Austria in the third century, then spread into Switzerland and into the Alsace region (Waterman 1991: 43, Vassberg 1989: 21).¹⁵ Upper Rhenish varieties of the Alsatian dialect were brought to Texas by immigrants in the 1840s from border areas of the triangle created by France, Switzerland, and Germany. The Alsatian (ALS) dialect is still extant in present-day France and differs measurably from the north and central German dialects of TxG in its lexicon, phonology, and morphosyntax, although all German dialects share a common structure and lexical stock. It is important to note that ALS was predominantly a spoken language with rare

¹⁴ Literally this translates as “coffee gossip.” In Castroville, these are groups of men within the Texas Alsatian community who gather around a cup of coffee in the morning or afternoon to discuss various public or personal events. They often switch back and forth between TxAls and English in their discussions depending upon the fluency of the members attending. Similar groups meet in TxG communities such as Fredericksburg.

¹⁵ The Franks occupied most of Gaul in the 5th and 6th centuries and adopted the Romance languages in areas where they constituted a minority. This, in turn, eventually created a Franco-Germanic linguistic border which does not represent today’s political borders (Vassberg 1989: 20).

examples of written texts at the time of immigration to Texas (Keller 1961)¹⁶ and is not supported by a standardized variety.

Due to extended contact with English and Texas German in Medina County, a spoken form has emerged over the past century in the speech communities clustered in and around Castroville, which will be referred to as *Texas Alsatian*. This variety is characterized by occasional lexical and phonological borrowings from English and TxG.

There is no standard form spoken by all of the participants. Variations which were either present in the speech of the original immigrants or which developed within outlying communities are well-represented. Several of the participants pointed to this variation, but could not pinpoint the exact features. They noted that “they just speak different over in (town).” The following segment from one participant’s (#202) narrative provides an introductory look at the TxAls of Castroville:¹⁷

*I hàn às gschafft in Santo:n mit a [bunch] a wieber. . . sie sin iwerall ovagànge un g'wohnt un mol a Tàg han eini g'sait zü mir, wie kumms as dü nix saisch? Wu bisch dü g'sei? I hàn gesait, „Ninzihn [mile] vü Santo:n fer achzin Johr un se:br [mile] süd vüm wu ich gwo:nt bin. Dann hàn i ki:ro:ta un ich bin dert scho sitr ich àchzin Johr alt g'sei bin.“ Die hàn nur d'Kopf g'schüttelt. Dàs isch àwer a dummi Froi, die hàn g'dacht. (laughs) [No], si hàn nitt gloibt, as ich nia ahna gänge (bin). . .*¹⁸

Some TxAls lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic differences from Standard German (SG), such as the SG past participle for *sein* ('to be') *gewesen* versus

¹⁶ Keller (1961) notes that there was very little dialect literature before 1870. Today, Alsatian's main communicative medium is still the spoken word and it remains a non-standardized language with multiple spoken varieties in the Alsace.

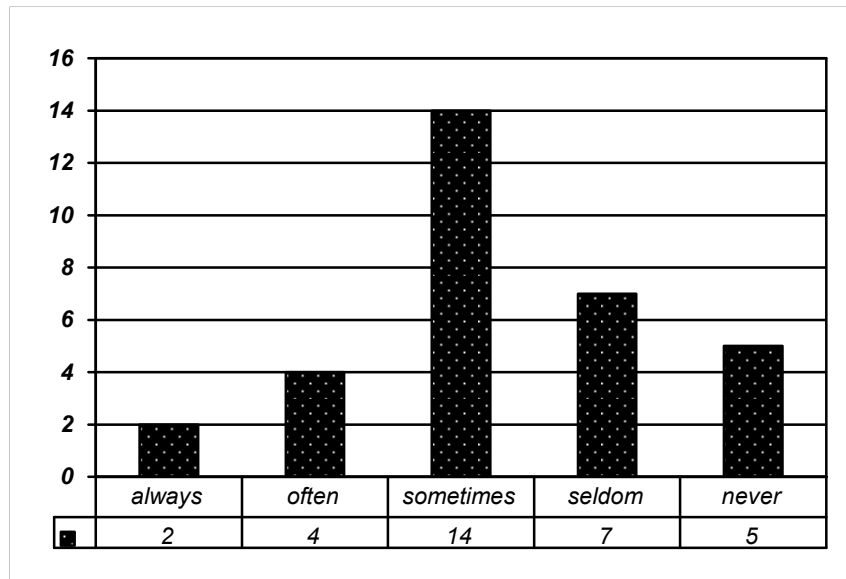
¹⁷ As noted in the previous section, transcriptions are generally in a modified German orthography, unless specific phonetic comparisons are being drawn. The grapheme *à* represents a highly-velarized *a*, as in *saw*, or IPA [ɔ] (Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003). Philipp-Bothorel-Witz (1989) however, represent this velarized *a* as IPA [ɑ].

¹⁸ 'I worked in San Antonio with a bunch of women...they went out everywhere and had lived everywhere and one time, one day one of them said to me, "Why don't you say anything? Where have you been? I said, "(I've been) nineteen miles from San Antonio for eighteen years and seven miles south from where I lived. Then I married and I've been there since I was eighteen years old." They only shook their heads. That is really a stupid woman, they thought. (laughs) No, they didn't believe that I'd never been anywhere.'

the TxAls *g'sei*, or SG *aber* versus TxAls *àwer* are immediately evident to the reader who is familiar with German. These differences will be discussed in further detail in Chapters Three, Four, and Five.

Although many native German speakers generally seem to be able to understand the Alsatian dialect after some contact, Texas German speakers seem to experience difficulty in comprehending their TxAls neighbors. To investigate this intelligibility between TxG dialects, Question #17 on the Alsatian Questionnaire (AQ) asked whether TxAls speakers could understand TxG. Figure 1.1 displays the responses of the thirty-two TxAls speakers:

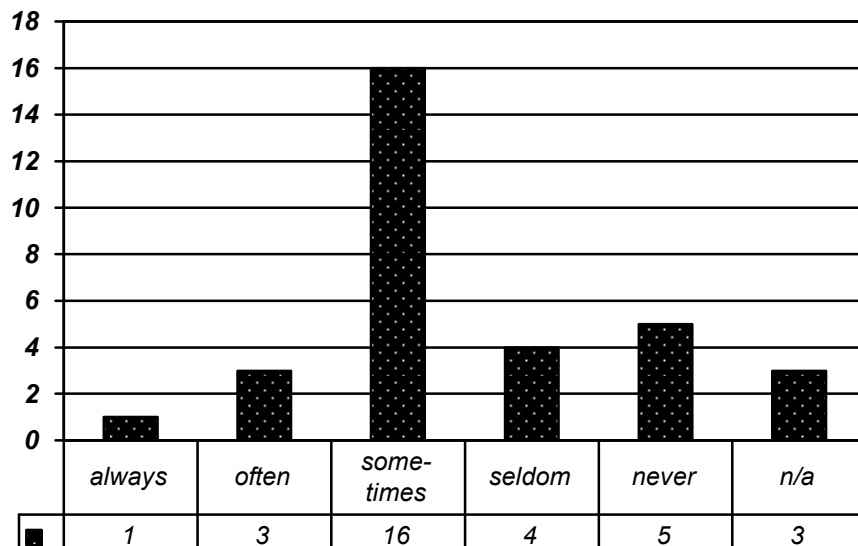
Figure 1.1: “Can you understand Texas German?”



The speakers who responded with “always” or “often” all have had contact with TxG in the home (spouse) or SG in foreign language education (#202, 241, 242, 248, E.B.). As I had thought to observe several situations where the TxG speaker could not

understand TxAls,¹⁹ a further question “Can Texas Germans understand you when you speak Alsatian?” was asked in the following survey item. The responses differ only slightly and are shown in Figure 1.2 below:

Figure 1.2: “Can Texas Germans understand you?”



The “not applicable” response signifies respondents who noted that they have never spoken Alsatian with a Texas German. Both charts indicate that TxG and TxAls are only somewhat mutually intelligible²⁰ except in cases where there has been long and intense contact, such as with a spouse or parent who speaks the other dialect. This unintelligibility also plays a role in the separation which exists between the two dialect communities.

¹⁹ I conducted a small spontaneous experiment when I introduced a TxAls informant to a TxG friend. The TxG could not understand the TxAls, but the TxAls (who has had many incidences of exposure to native German speakers and has several TxG friends) was able to understand her.

²⁰ Initially, I spoke SG during my interviews, but soon discovered it was very difficult for them to understand me, as well as I them. I began learning Alsatian, but even slight phonological and lexical variations in my pronunciation seemed to affect comprehension adversely.

The next section introduces certain socio-historical facts on the land of origin, the Alsace, which aid in understanding the socio-cultural context of TxAls.

1.3.1 The land of origin

Political boundaries are constantly in a state of flux, but within the last two hundred years, the Alsace (see Illustration 1.1) and neighboring Lorraine on the west side of the upper Rhine have been “disputed, coveted, [and] shuffled back and forth” by Germany and France (Hessini 1981: 11) as it sits at one of Europe’s major crossroads, i.e., at the juncture of the north-south route along the Rhine and the east-west route Paris-Munich-Vienna.

After a relatively long period of governance under France after the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), the Alsace and Lorraine were claimed in 1871 by Prussia, the declared victor of the Franco-Prussian War and political seat of the German Confederation (Goff et al. 2008). In 1919, the Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France as part of the reparations of the Versailles Treaty after Germany’s defeat in WWI (1914-1918).²¹ Two decades later, Hitler marched into France in the beginning years of WWII (1939-1945), after which the Alsace-Lorraine was occupied by Germany. When Germany was defeated in 1945, the Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France, and has since remained under its governance.²²

²¹ The official armistice was not signed until 1919, although the actual surrender occurred in 1918.

²² One of the French Alsations interviewed in this study tells of his grandfather who lived through all five of these exchanges between France and Germany.

Illustration 1.1: Location of the Alsace, France



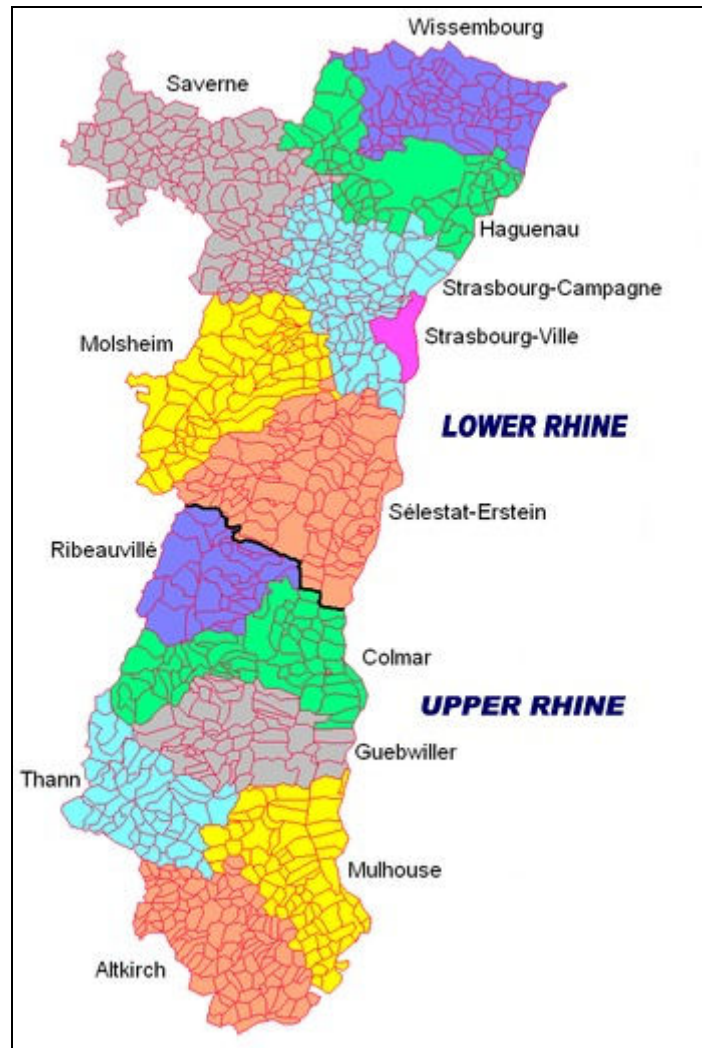
(http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/europe/france_admin91.jpg)

It is important to note that political borders do not necessarily reflect linguistic borders. Although the Alsace was directly under the rule of France at the time of Castro's recruitment in the 1840s, most of the rural population in the Alsace still spoke Alsatian, a German dialect, although French was making inroads as the language of business and culture (Vassberg 1989: 60-1). Full assimilation was seen as a matter of

national security by the central government (Craig 1984: 22). However, the majority of Alsatian peasants and urban workers, which constituted four-fifths of the population, viewed French as the language of the rich and saw no conflict between their German dialect and French patriotism (Craig 1984: 24). This is an important ideology which the first colonists most likely carried with them to their new home in Texas. Erny (2003: 125) reports that “by the end of Louis-Philippe’s reign (1830-1848) a majority of the peasantry could neither read nor write and spoke only a dialect.”

Today’s Alsace region is divided into two main administrative “departments” or regional districts, roughly dividing the Alsace in half, called the *Bas-Rhin* (‘Lower Rhine’) with its administrative capital, Strasbourg, and the *Haut-Rhin* (‘Upper Rhine’) with its administrative capital, Mulhouse (Vassberg 1989: 19), as is shown in Illustration 1.2. These are subdivided into thirteen “arrondissements” (Saverne, Strasbourg, Colmar, etc.), 75 cantons, and 904 communes.

Illustration 1.2: Administrative Divisions of the Alsace



(<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alsace>)

These two political divisions also mark the general linguistic area of two regional dialects, Lower Rhine Alsatian and Upper Rhine Alsatian, the main donor dialect of TxAls.

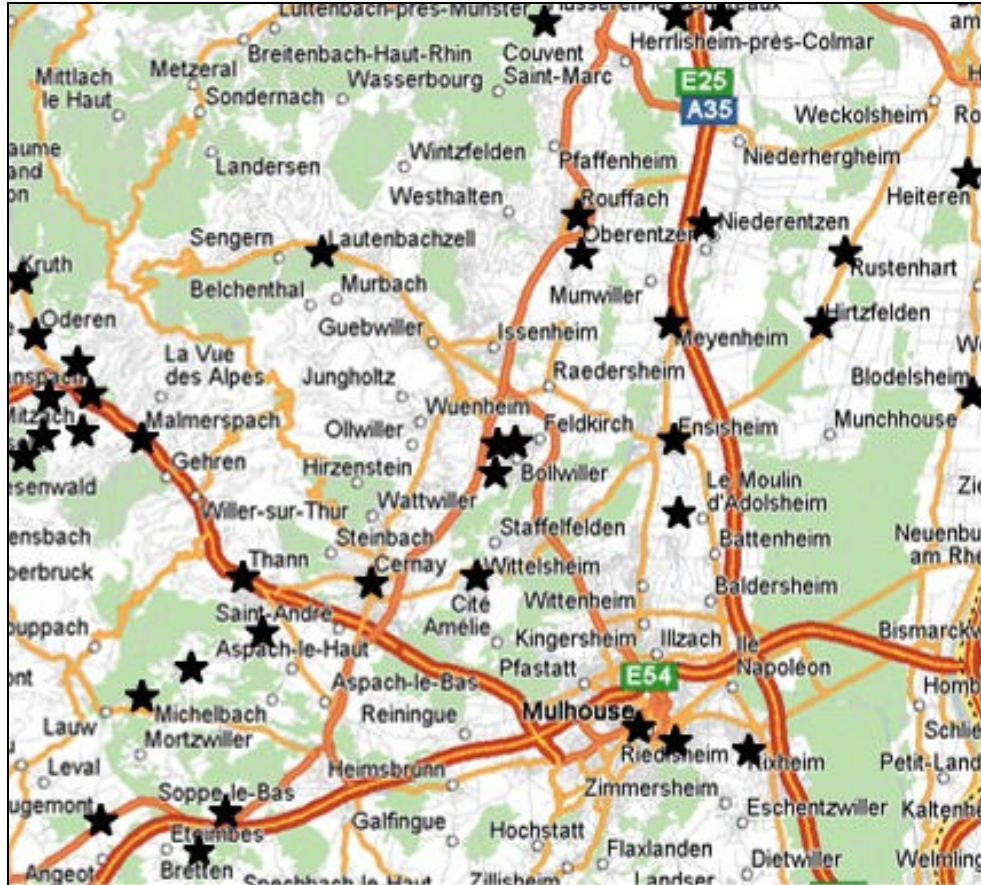
1.3.2 The donor dialect, Upper Rhine Alsatian

The Medina County Alsatians are knowledgeable of their local history, ancestral origin, and their linguistic heritage. The introduction to the *Elsasser Wordbuch* (Tschirhart 1981), a locally compiled Texas-Alsatian dictionary, states:

The Alsatian language spoken in Castroville has scarcely changed since 1844...this dialect comes from the Mulhouse region of Alsace, and present-day people from Castroville have no difficulty in communicating with their friends and distant relatives in France.

According to the participants' statements and historical sources (e.g., CCHA 1983, Laybourn 1985, Erny 1999, THC 2002, Smith 2004) determining specific ancestral villages, it is possible not only to pinpoint the Upper Rhine Department as the geographic origin—and thus, linguistic origin—of the Texas Alsatians, but even more specifically, to locate the majority of villages within this area from which the immigrants originated. Illustration 1.3 encompasses the area between Colmar (just to the north of Herrlisheim-près-Colmar) and Mulhouse which shows the concentration of 80% of the TxAls ancestral villages. Colmar and Mulhouse lie only twenty-five miles apart, however, which stresses the importance of including two descriptive accounts of the dialect in and around each of these cities (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989 and Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003, respectively).

Illustration 1.3: Upper Rhine ancestral villages²³



(based on <http://www.multimap.com/world/FR/Alsace/Haut-Rhin>)

The thirty-eight stars indicate the ancestral villages as indicated by participants on the Alsatian Questionnaire²⁴ and Laybourn (1985 II: 243). The area to the northwest of Mulhouse is indicative of Castro's recruiting efforts and chain migration. In order to fulfill stipulations imposed by the Texas Republic, Castro was required to bring six

²³ Not shown are the villages to the north of Colmar located just off the top of the map (Epfig, Ribeauvillé, Roschwihr, St. Hippolyte) and further south of Mulhouse (Bettlach, Franken, Friesen, Hochstatt, Steinbrunn-le-Haut).

²⁴ For a detailed list of the ancestral villages of each participant, see *Appendix A*.

hundred families within three years, and one-third of those within the first year (Weaver 1985: 21). After his recruiting efforts in Paris failed to provide a sufficient number of interested clients, he turned his attention to the rural areas of the Alsace in the Rhine River valley (see §2.2.3).

The following section describes current geographic, demographic, social, and economic characteristics of Medina County and Castroville to situate today's TxAls "ecologically" (Haugen 1972, Edwards 1992, Wolfram 2002).

1.4 ADOPTED HOME OF TXALS: MEDINA COUNTY 2000

Medina County is bordered by Bexar County to the west, Bandera to the north, Uvalde to the east, and Frio to the south. Topographically, the Balcones Escarpment is its most noticeable feature, dropping from the higher elevation of the Edwards Plateau to the Coastal Plains. The visual impression of the county is that of a rural farming and ranching area, which occupational statistics do not necessarily reflect. The county seat is Hondo, located in the center of the county. With an area encompassing 1,327 square miles, Medina County has an average population of twenty-seven inhabitants per square mile. Males constitute 51.4% of this population and females 48.6%. A 2004 study shows a 7.54% increase in population to 42,269 inhabitants, indicating growth. Medina County also ranks 47th out of 254 counties in the list of fastest-growing counties in Texas.

Demographic factors of race²⁵ and ethnicity, social factors of birth and education, and economic factors of household income provide an overview of general socio-

²⁵ The term "ethnicity" is gradually replacing the term "race." Questions of the 2000 US Census do target data on both of these categories, but now differentiate between them. Thus, the ethnicity of Hispanic or Latino is a separate question and further defined by "of any race." The categories used in the table below reflect the U.S. Census questions for accuracy in reporting statistics.

economic contexts. The 2000 US Census Report²⁶ and other online sites²⁷ citing the US Census Bureau have been consulted to create the following table. Overarching areas (U.S. and Texas) as well as the smaller “Alsatian” community of LaCoste (see Table 1.2 on ancestry groups) have been included to provide as broad a comparison as possible between city, county, state, and national levels.

Table 1.1: Sample demographics²⁸ of Medina County communities

	<i>U.S.</i>	<i>Texas</i>	<i>Medina County</i>	<i>Hondo</i>	<i>Devine</i>	<i>Castroville</i>	<i>LaCoste</i>
Area (sq.miles)		261,797.13 ²⁹	1327	9.59	3.11	2.55	.64
Population		22,270,165	39,304	7,897	4,140	2,664	1,255
/sq.mile	79.56	79.65	29.60	823.84	1,331.45	1045.37	1,954.02
Race							
White	75.1%	71%	79.4%	73.3%	76.6%	81%	79.6%
Ethnicity Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	12.5%	32%	45.5%	59.9%	52.2%	36%	51.6%
Birth native, same state	60%	62.2%	80.8%	88.3%	85.9%	78%	86.4%
Education:							
HS diploma	28.6%	24.8%	33.4%	33.7%	29.8%	28.7%	40.6%
Bachelor's	15.5%	15.6%	9.3%	5.3%	8.1%	14.4%	8.4%
Income (\$) ³⁰	41,994	39,927	36,063	27,917	28,712	42,308	36,786

The responses for race show a predominately white demographic distribution for Medina County and its communities, with a significant ethnic presence of Hispanic and Latino groups. The high percentage of Medina County inhabitants born in the state

²⁶ See <http://factfinder.census.gov> for Castroville and Medina County.

²⁷ <http://www.epodunk.com>

²⁸ These are summarized from the links given above.

²⁹ According to the 2005 American Community Survey data, with an error margin of +/- 5%.

³⁰ Only the median household income (no average) was available from the US Census data.

(80.8%) also reveals a population whose migratory scope seems to be limited to intrastate patterns. With regard to education among 24,629 inhabitants twenty-five years or older, 33.4% are high school graduates, 25.4% have some college or associate's degree, 9.3% attained a bachelor's degree, and only 4% possess a master's, professional, or doctorate degree. The county's percentage for completing an undergraduate degree lies well below the national average, but comfortably above that for completion of a high school diploma. The annual median household income is \$36,063, compared with a national average of \$41,994. Only 1.9% of the total work force above age sixteen is engaged in farming, fishing, and forestry occupations.

Castroville is located at the intersection of U.S. 90 and the Medina River, just five miles east now of the city limit of San Antonio in Bexar County at an elevation of 758 feet (THC 2002: 13). It is the third largest city in Medina County after Hondo and Devine, encompassing 2.55 square miles of land with approximately 2,664 inhabitants. Statistics show a higher percentage of whites and the lowest percentage of Hispanic or Latino ethnicity compared with county statistics.³¹ The figures on education and income lie far above the percentage for the county. The following statistics on ancestry groups in Medina County and communities (arranged according to population size) were reported by residents and generally portray ethnicity and approximate percentages:³²

³¹ Viewed in conjunction with the statistics on ancestry groups in Table 1.2, this might be indicative of the influx of commuters from San Antonio together with original settlement patterns, although this can only be speculated upon.

³² Reported by <http://www.epodunk.com> and based on US Census data.

Table 1.2: Ancestry Groups

<i>Figures represent rounded %</i>	<i>Medina County:</i>	<i>WEST:</i>			<i>EAST:</i>	
		<i>Hondo</i>	<i>Devine</i>	<i>Natalia</i>	<i>Castroville</i>	<i>LaCoste</i>
Mexican	30%	41	33	49	24	40
Other Hispanic and Latino	15%	19	19	30	11	12
German	19%	13	12	5	22	20
Alsatian	2% (~786)	0	2 (83)	0	6 (160)	7 (88)
Irish	7%	4	6	3	9	3
English	6%	3	6	1	8	5
French	2%	1	1	0	4	1
African-American	2%*	8	1	1	1	1
Italian	1%	2	2	0	2	1
Other ³³	15%	9	20	11	13	10

The figures above are indicative of the continued northward migration and immigration from Texas' southern neighbor, Mexico, showing Medina County's main ancestral group (30%) to be of Mexican descent and an additional 15% as "other Hispanic and Latino." Comparatively, the communities of Castroville (6%), LaCoste (7%), and Devine (2%) show only a small percentage of Alsatian ancestry. All communities report German ancestry, but Castroville (22%) and LaCoste (20%) show significant percentages thereof.³⁴ Castroville reports the smallest percentage of Mexican/other Hispanic and Latino ancestry. Despite the almost negligible 6% of Alsatian ancestry reported in Castroville at the beginning of this century, the language and culture linked with Castroville's history is Alsatian, which is marketed toward the outside, making use of the city's adopted slogan "The Little Alsace of Texas."

³³ Other groups constitute 1% or less of the remaining %.

³⁴ This also points to difficulties in self-reporting. Respondents might simply report their Alsatian ancestry as "German" or "French" which somewhat skews results.

1.4.1 Linguistic beginnings

German immigrants to Texas in the 19th century were met by different geographic, political, and demographic circumstances than earlier German immigrants to other areas of America, which influenced settlement patterns and ultimately promoted linguistic autonomy and maintenance of the TxG dialect (Boas 2009a: 37-9). The western settlements in particular presented an almost continuous belt of German-dominated communities along the frontier from Mason and Llano counties in the northwest to Gillespie, Kendall, and Comal counties in the southwest, which encompasses Bexar and Medina counties to the south (see Illustration 2.1). Largely as a result of this isolation and necessary self-sufficiency, many of the western German settlements were predominately monolingual communities, into which non-German speakers were frequently assimilated (Salmons 1983: 188). Boas (2009a: 38-9) underscores the strength and status of the German immigrant presence in Texas during this first immigration period, pointing to the young Republic's early legislation officially recognizing the German element, such as publishing Texas laws in German (1843), or granting a charter for a German university (1844). This prestige of the German dialects undoubtedly supported the status of Alsatian to some extent.

Linguistic homogeneity as found in many of the western German settlements (e.g., New Braunfels, Fredericksburg, Comfort), however, did not typify Castro's colonies. There was already a strong Spanish and Mexican presence³⁵ in Medina and Bexar counties. Weaver (1985: 53) remarks that the first group of settlers that arrived at the proposed site for Castroville in 1844 was linguistically diverse:

³⁵ The territory had belonged to Spain and Mexico before it acquired independence. San Antonio was mainly a Spanish-speaking community at this time.

To complicate matters further, the considerable confusion of languages led the French, German, Texan, and Mexican workers to establish separate camps and refuse to cooperate with one another.³⁶

This separation appears to have been maintained by the different ethnic groups who upheld their ancestral language and culture, still present in Castroville today. Five linguistic groups are evident from accounts and documents of the founding of Castroville, although grouped differently from Weaver's designations.³⁷ The first groups of colonists were mainly Alsatian-speaking, with others from linguistically-related areas of Baden and Switzerland, but subsequent Castro efforts also recruited colonists from northern German provinces to his colonies of Castroville, Quihi, and Vandenburg (Weaver 1985: 89-92). Castro and many of his company officials were French-speaking. The Catholic community which Castro initiated by enlisting the help of Bishop Odin was also comprised of native French-speaking priests, as well as French and Alsatian-speaking sisters from the Order of the Sisters of Divine Providence.

Spanish-speaking inhabitants and workers constituted a fourth major linguistic group. The Hispanic population seems to have remained fairly separate from the three other ethnic groups and contact was limited to work relationships, even though they shared the same Roman Catholic faith. The wall separating the Hispanic gravestones in the older portion of St. Louis Cemetery from other gravestones attests to this social separation.³⁸ English constituted the fifth and smallest linguistic group,³⁹ as represented

³⁶ This linguistic component may have influenced the settlement of later sites, such as Quihi in 1845, which was predominantly German Lutheran and remains so today, or D'Hanis in 1847, then predominantly Alsatian. Today D'Hanis is a largely Hispanic and Catholic community.

³⁷ It seems that the term "German" might have encompassed all German-speaking groups which included Alsatian, although this is not clear.

³⁸ The wall has been removed for the most part, leaving only the original base, but is clearly discernible for what it was: a division. D'Hanis also had two Catholic churches, one for the Hispanic population, and one for the English-speaking population (CCHA 1983: 87), until fires destroyed both.

³⁹ See §2.3 and Father Dubuis' description of his school class.

by company employees (e.g., Dr. Cupples) and other Anglo settlers in the area. Certain socio-historical factors (see Chapter Two) contributed to the establishment of a vital Alsatian ethnic group which has continued to weld the Alsatian identity to that of Castroville's until today.

1.4.2 The Texas Germans of Castroville

There are today, roughly speaking, three elements in the life of the place: Alsatian, American, and Mexican. The first two do not, and have never mingled with the third.

--Waugh (1934: 44)

Ninety years after Castroville's founding, Waugh remarked on a three-fold division in her socio-historical study of Castroville. She fails to mention a German "element,"⁴⁰ which is most likely indicative of the general inability of non-German speakers to differentiate between these two German-speaking groups.⁴¹ However, it does emphasize the need to discuss certain similarities and differences between the two speech communities important to the discussion of the TxAls and the "separateness" between these two German-speaking communities.

The ten Germans present at the founding of Castroville attest to this "other" German element in Castroville, as does the establishment of Zion Lutheran church in 1858. Alsatian speakers today refer to this group of speakers of "High German"⁴² as

⁴⁰ Her categorization alludes to a linguistic grouping. Her "exclusion" of the Germans is perhaps a broader inclusiveness of both Alsations and Germans into one linguistic grouping, versus "English-speaking" and "Spanish-speaking."

⁴¹ In the case of the community of D'Hanis, Hudson (1997: 44-6) remarks that "defining the identity of D'Hanis is by no means straightforward" and points to the sometimes arbitrary decisions of the community census takers as to whether the Alsations were recorded as Germans, Alsations, or French. For example, the 1850 described all residents of D'Hanis as German, although all twenty-nine families were Alsatian (and the Alsace was still under the rule of France until 1871).

⁴² TxG speakers generally use this designation of "High" to convey what they perceive as a superior form of German separate from their dialect.

“Germans” versus their self-designation of “Alsatian,” already indicating a differentiation between the two communities.

Religious practices also set the Alsatians apart from the Germans in the four Castro colonies. Most Texas Alsatians are Roman Catholic, whereas the majority of Texas Germans in the community identify themselves as Lutheran or Methodist. Weaver (1985: 100) estimated a ratio of Catholics to Protestants in Castroville at five to one. This division is not quite so clear among Texas Germans. For example, approximately one-third⁴³ of all Texas Germans in the 1890s were professed Catholics, which was also represented in Castro’s colonies, but to a lesser degree. The Alsatian and German Catholics would have had little problem attending the same mass in the first years, when the French priests most likely conducted the mass in Latin. There is also later evidence of mass booklets in “High” German,⁴⁴ which were perhaps used during the service of Father Jacob Lenzen,⁴⁵ a native of Ulman, Germany, from 1928-1953 (CCHA 1983: 68).

Socio-economically, the two speech communities were quite similar in that the first groups of settlers from 1840-1848 were farmers and craftsmen in their homeland who were looking to better themselves economically. Weaver (1985: 124) states that in the census of 1850 taken by the Castro colonists “the greatest number of persons listed such trades as mason, wheelwright, carpenter, shoemaker, or watchmaker, while a minority (39.9%) claimed to be farmers.” However, a radical change in occupational status occurred by 1860, where 70% claimed to be farmers, most likely due to the geographic conditions that mainly supported stock-raising and the fact that the frontier area could not support the kinds of occupations listed above (Weaver 1985: 125).

⁴³ T. Jordon (1980: 111) compiled a religious census of Texas Hill Country Germans from 1890 showing a general fragmentation among the Protestants, but the Roman Catholic figure is informative: 34% Roman Catholic; 11% Methodist; 8% “Freidenker” and 47% Lutheran.

⁴⁴ Participants #202 and #238 mention mass booklets in “High” German.

⁴⁵ The only Alsatian priest to serve in Castroville (1909-1928), Father Alphonse Heckmann from Duttlenheim, preceded Father Lenzen. For a list of priests and their origins, see CCHA (1983: 68-9).

In contrast to the Alsatian immigrants, the German immigrants brought with them their strong tradition of education, which was supported by an additional flood of academics into Texas after the Revolution of 1848 in Germany (Biesele 1930: 17). This provided the German-speaking communities with a steady flow of highly-educated teachers for their schools. This was not the case for the early Alsatian settlers, as many hailed from isolated regions, many of which could not sustain a school.⁴⁶ Instead, the Alsations had to initially rely upon the goodwill of the Catholic priests and sisters to provide an education for their children.

The following section offers a general description of linguistic developments shared by TxG dialects necessary for an understanding and comparison of specific developments in TxAls.

1.5 TXG DIALECTS: CONTACT, SHIFT, AND DECLINE

Linguistic diversity, then, is a benchmark of cultural diversity. Language death is symptomatic of cultural death ... language shift and death occur as a response to pressures of various types—social, cultural, economic, and even military—on a community. Every time a language stops performing a particular function, it will lose some ground to another that takes its place. Death occurs when one language replaces another over its entire functional range, and parents no longer transmit the language to their children (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 7).

As Nettle & Romaine (2000) point out, languages become extinct when speakers abandon their first language in favor of another language that is socio-economically, politically, culturally etc. more beneficial and is thus not transmitted to the next

⁴⁶ These schools in remote villages only existed due to the dedication of certain orders of nuns dedicated to teaching and healing, such as the Sisters of Divine Providence. For example, the head of the Sisters of Divine Providence motherhouse in Castroville, Mother St. Andrew (Louise Feltin), taught in Alsatian village schools in Krautergersheim, Epfing, Heiligenberg, and Batzendorf, before being recruited by Father Dubuis (Langford 2007) for missionary work in Texas.

generation. Campbell & Muntzel (1989: 182-5) define four types of language death: sudden (due to the decimation of the entire speaker population), radical (speakers stop speaking the language as a survival strategy, usually under political repression), gradual (loss of a language due to shift to a dominant language in a contact situation), and bottom-to-top (language loss in familial domains, but retention in “elevated ritual contexts”). TxG belongs to the group of languages which gradually disappear in contact situations due to a more socio-economically beneficial language (in this case, English). However, TxG dialects exhibit a sharper rate of decline than is usual for languages in contact, which generally decline gradually over generations (Boas 2009a: 3). TxG dialects experienced an abrupt shift to English within a period of approximately thirty years (1920-1950) and are now considered endangered (see Crystal 2000, McConvell 2002 for specific criteria).

Recent discussions on language shift point to a more complex interaction of factors contributing to language shift than previously believed (Campbell & Muntzel 1989, Dorian 1993, Campbell 1994, Wolfram 2002, Wilkerson & Salmons 2008, etc.). Several previous studies of TxG (e.g., Eikel 1954; Gilbert 1972; Salmons 1983; Fuller and Gilbert 2003, Guion 2006, Boas 2009a), refer to World War I and the association of TxG (Alsatian was also perceived as German) with the language of the enemy as a turning point in the life of TxG dialects. They cite a loss of prestige to account for the initial impetus which pushed TxG into private domains. German had enjoyed a certain socio-economic status in pre-World War years: the language was associated with values of industriousness, perseverance, success, and intelligence (Jordan 2004: 5-6).⁴⁷ Mattheier (2003: 24), however, points to parallel developments in other speech islands as an indication that factors already present in the late 19th century also played an important

⁴⁷ Jordan (2004) cites several sources describing German farmers with adjectives such as thrifty, prosperous, successful, industrious, and intelligent.

role in language shift, such as the prevalent Anglo-American ideology present in the administrative, social, and economic structures that demanded full assimilation of the immigrant.⁴⁸ The following passage from a letter Theodore Roosevelt wrote to the president of the American Defense Society on January 3, 1919,⁴⁹ illustrate the pervasiveness of the English-only ideology:

We should insist that if the immigrant who comes here does in good faith become an American and assimilates himself to us he shall be treated on an exact equality with every one else, for it is an outrage to discriminate against any such man because of creed or birth-place or origin. But this is predicated upon the man's becoming in very fact an American and nothing but an American . . . There can be no divided allegiance here . . . We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding-house...

The expansion of the public school system and legislative language policy went hand-in-hand with this demand for complete language assimilation.

Mattheier (2003: 25) suggests that the World Wars only accelerated the disintegration already in progress of autochthonous speech varieties.⁵⁰ Educational and administrative policies deeply affected immigrant speech islands in general. In the case of TxG dialects, the timing of certain Texas educational legislation passed before and during World War I in 1909 and 1918 restricting schools to English-only instruction (Moore 1980: 20) struck a severe blow to the use of German in an important public domain. U.S. legislation in October 1917 requiring German newspapers to apply for a

⁴⁸ Mattheier (2003: 24): „Am ehesten ist dabei zu denken an das sich allgemein im 19. Jahrhundert . . . ausbildende angelsächsisch geprägte Nationalbewusstsein, das auch von allen nicht Englisch sprechenden eine Integration in die amerikanische Leitkultur verlangte.“ ‘Whereby one first thinks of the national educative Anglo-Saxon ideology prevalent in the 19th century that demanded integration of all non-English speakers into the prevailing American culture.’

⁴⁹ <http://www.truthorfiction.com/rumors/r/roosevelt-immigration.htm>; also partially quoted by Nettle & Romaine (2000: 194).

⁵⁰ Clyne (2003: 11) also notes that the “aggressive monolingualism generated by the First World War ... set the tone in Australia for half a century.”

permit before publishing and then provide translations for any articles pertaining to the war was time-consuming and expensive, causing many to fold or switch to English (Boas 2009a: 84). Despite a revision in 1938 that allowed German (and other “foreign” languages) to be taught in public schools after the second grade (Moore 1980: 22), the exclusion of German in schools and the loss of status as a language of the enemy sufficiently restricted its use in public domains. This marked German sufficiently as a less-prestigious language and its ban from the public schools limited accessibility to young learners.

For Texas Alsatian speaker #202, it was the events of WWII with Germany again “the enemy” and the accompanying ostracism that played a crucial role in transmission, which accelerated the shift to English in Castroville:

Ja, àwr sie reda kà Elsàssisch. I hàn zwei Brüedr un a Schwester jiengr às ich und as isch waga em zweiten Waltkrieg,...will wemmir uewer in San Antonio gänge sin, sin mir nitt serviert wordà,...will dia was gschàfft kàà hàn, die Amerikànr, die hàn g'meint, die reda—Dietsch; g'meint, das sin Schwo:va, mit dena sie nitt serviera. Drnou sin sie wiedr heimkumma, dia was gänge sin fer iekäufa und hàn g'sait zuanàndr, mir reda nimmr Elsess mit d' Kindr, das profitiert sie nitt. Es wart bessr wemma nur Englisch reda mit inna, . . . ich bin siebeunsachzig und die jiengera--ach ich sàg zweiunsàchzig, sie reda kei elsàssisch mehr. Sie verstahn's, àwr sie reda es nitt.⁵¹

The ensuing economic upswing and modernization of the U.S. economy reinforced the status of English. The stigmatization of German dialects and the increasing economic, political, and social importance of English combined effectively to

⁵¹ ‘Yes, but they don’t speak Alsatian. I have two brothers and a sister younger than me . . . and it’s because of the Second World War. . . because when we went over to San Antonio, we weren’t waited on. . . because those who worked, the Americans, they thought we were speaking German, thought we were Swabians, whom they didn’t wait on. After that they came home, those that had gone shopping, and said to each other, we’re not going to speak Alsatian with the children anymore, it’s of no value to them. It would be better if we only spoke English with them. I’m sixty-eight and the younger ones—oh, I guess sixty-two, they don’t speak Alsatian anymore. They understand it, but they don’t speak it.’

Note: The negative reference to the Swabians was transferred from a comment a European Alsatian professor made relating the history of hostilities between the Swabians and Alamans.

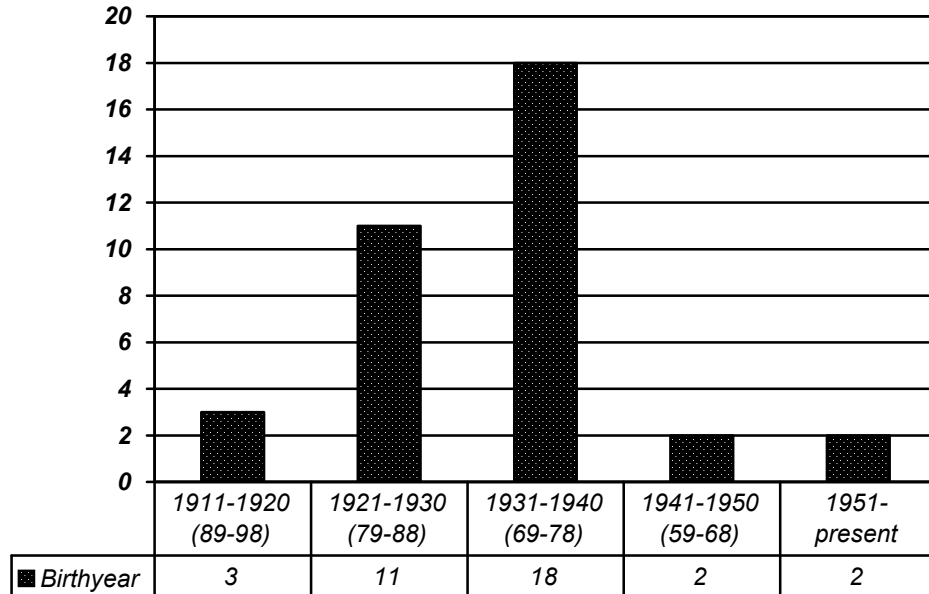
halt any further transmission within the space of a single generation. Parents and youth of the following decades recognized English as the more salient language both socially and economically. Several participants in this study born in the 1930s also remarked that they “just weren’t interested in speaking Alsatian” as children. This choice on the part of the parents or children, whether economic or social, is reinforced by data on the speakers’ year of birth who participated in this study. This data will be introduced in the participants’ linguistic profile in the following section and analyzed further in terms of language shift in Chapter Two.

1.6 PARTICIPANT PROFILE

In order to facilitate a general understanding of the demographic and linguistic background of the participants, *Appendix A* presents an overview of the self-reported data from the Alsatian Questionnaire on age, education, religious affiliation, generation of Alsatian ancestry in Texas, the Alsatian ancestral villages, age at acquisition, and a self-assessment of TxAls language proficiency.

The TxAls-speaking community in Castroville is a relatively homogenous one in many respects. Of the thirty-six informants, 100% affiliate themselves with the Catholic faith. Educationally, 64% attained a high school diploma and 19% continued to obtain a college degree (including two-year degrees, Associate of Arts or Science). 94% of the informants who speak Alsatian are sixty years and older. Figure 1.3 shows the participants’ age range in birth years. These time periods are maintained for the most part in subsequent analyses.

Figure 1.3: Speakers' Year of Birth



89% of the participants were born between the years 1913 and 1940. 62% of the informants acquired Alsatian at home between the ages of 0-5. 83% (11% unknown) report four to six generations of Alsatian ancestry. As shown above, I was still able to locate speakers from the time-span encompassed by Gilbert's interviews in the 1960's, which provides an important anchor point for comparing several generations. This eldest group is an extremely varied one, comprised of a fluent speaker of Alsatian ancestry, a fluent native-Irish speaker who learned the language from a spouse, and a "rememberer" (Grinevald 2001) with an Alsatian father and German mother. Most of the sociolinguistic analyses focus on the two larger groups which also represent the span between the two World Wars.

For future reference, the informants' TGDP numbers or initials (in random order) are indicated below for each age group. Age-grading has proven ineffective in establishing sociolinguistic correlation, as fluent speakers (underlined below) are spread across the age continuum. The two most fluent speakers (born 1939, 1940) are also the youngest fluent speakers of the 60+ age group.

Table 1.3: Age distribution of participants

1911-1920:	(3)	<u>235</u> , <u>254</u> , B.E.
1921-1930:	(11)	<u>239</u> , 241, 242, <u>247</u> , <u>248</u> , 249c, <u>249d</u> , 250, 256, B.C., D.E.
1931-1940:	(18)	<u>202</u> , <u>234</u> , 236, 237, <u>238</u> , 240, 243, 249a, 249b, <u>251</u> , 252a, <u>252b</u> , 253, 255, 257, H.B., K.R., T.A.
1941-pres.:	(4)	233, E.B., T.C., W.M.

Participants 249a-d⁵² are sisters and 252a-b are a married couple I interviewed in order to observe certain factors of transmission and usage. 254 and 255 represent a non-related pair (a father and son-in-law), where the AL was transmitted to the next generation.

Due to the small and irregular sample size of each group, the actual number of responses is usually referred to in subsequent analyses, rather than percentages, although these are occasionally provided when comparing other studies which employ them (some with extremely small sample sizes). The following section addresses the range of linguistic ability in the speaker sample used in this study.

⁵² 249d is the only fluent speaker of these five speakers, and is also the eldest (born in 1923).

1.6.1 Speaker fluency

There were discrepancies between the self-assessment of fluency and a linguistically-based rating, usually with the speaker understating his ability (see Table 1.4).⁵³ Some classification of speaker fluency is required to differentiate between fluent, semi-fluent, and participants who only have passive knowledge of Alsatian, although fluency scales are problematic on several levels, such as the difficulty in effectively separating speakers who border on these levels or the evaluator's limited exposure to the speaker in an interview setting. Dorian's (1981: 116) first classifications combine age and fluency in her differentiation between fluent and semi-fluent speakers (or semi-speakers). In this stage of endangerment, the age variable is not significant for TxAls as fluent speakers are spaced throughout the age continuum. Dorian (1999) makes further distinctions later between high, mid and low proficiency levels of the semi-speaker. Grinevald (2001, cited by Tsunoda 2005: 120-21) defines three main levels of fluency: the fluent speaker, the semi-speaker, and the terminal speaker or "rememberers." This last category includes speakers with only limited production skills, but passive knowledge of the respective language. Grinevald's (2001) semi-speakers are divided between two levels, strong and weak.

My classification follows a combination of the above, as there are no fluent speakers as Dorian (1981) defines them, i.e. speakers who feel more comfortable using their ancestral language (AL) than using English (only a few fluent TxAls speakers are equally proficient in English and Alsatian):

⁵³ Speaker self-assessments are noted in the Participant Profile (*Appendix A*).

1. Fluent speakers: speakers who switch between Alsatian and English seamlessly. These converse on most topics without hesitation and consistently produce grammatical Alsatian structures.
2. Semi-fluent speakers are differentiated between two levels: strong and weak.
 - a. Strong semi-speakers show little/no hesitation answering in Alsatian, are occasionally limited grammatically (as in the use of passive or subjunctive constructions). Can conduct large segments of conversation in Alsatian, but must occasionally switch to English.
 - b. Weak semi-speakers have difficulty in speaking continuously due to lexical gaps and frequently switch to English. They exhibit some difficulty with morphological markings (considered mistakes by fluent speakers). Most of these speakers rarely use Alsatian and find it easier to converse in English.
3. Rememberers and non-speakers:⁵⁴ Both rememberers and non-speakers often do not consider themselves Alsatian speakers, but identify themselves as Alsatian and are often active supporters in preserving their heritage (as in members of the Castro Colonies Heritage Association (CCHA), sister-city exchange, etc.).
 - a. Rememberers have mainly passive understanding of the language. Their productive skills are extremely limited in scope, usually reduced to phrases or numbers. These participants usually decline when prompted to speak Alsatian during interviews.
 - b. Non-speakers

The thirty-six TxAls speakers in this study were grouped according to these guidelines into the following categories. For comparison, the participants' self-assessment is shown next to the rating determined according to the levels described above:

⁵⁴ In the older speakers, mental acuity is a main factor in their speaking ability, and should thus be regarded in terms of ability to transmit the language, rather than an accurate assessment of their linguistic competence. For example, some suffer from dementia due to age or Alzheimer's, making it difficult to determine their actual competence versus their performance (cf. Chomsky 1965:4).

Table 1.4: Participant fluency

	<i>Roesch</i>		<i>Self-assessment</i>	
Fluent	11	202, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 247, 249d, 251, 252b, 254	“fluent”	8
Strong semi	7	240, 241, 248, 252b, 255, 256, 257	“pretty well”	10
Weak semi	7 (5)	236, 242, 249a, 249b, 249c, 250, 253 (D.E., H.P., T.C., T.A., W.M.)	“fair”	4
Rememberers	2 (4)	233, 243 (B.C., B.E., E.B., K.R.)	“a little bit”	14
SUBTOTAL	36 (9)			36
Non-speakers	4	B.D., F.C., T.R., Z.V.	“don’t speak”	4
TOTAL	40			40

The participants indicated in parentheses completed the Alsatian Questionnaire (AQ), but declined an interview session in Alsatian, even after speaking to me in Alsatian (some declined for health reasons). The twenty-seven TGDP numbers indicate that these participants were able to complete some portion of the Gilbert (1972) tasks in addition to the sociolinguistic interview and constitute the twenty-seven speakers I use to compare with Gilbert’s twenty-seven participants in linguistic analyses undertaken in Chapters Three, Four, and Five. I grouped fluent and strong semi-speakers together above to illustrate the relationship of relatively fluent speakers (18) to weak speakers (9) and those with limited passive knowledge (9), as this grouping seemed more meaningful in terms of fluency. Successive linguistic analyses of speakers will not include the four non-speakers unless otherwise indicated, but will include these four participants with respect to attitudinal factors discussed in Chapter Six.

Another issue that requires consideration is the participants' age⁵⁵ at acquisition of the AL, which is addressed in the next section.

1.6.2 Language acquisition and fluency

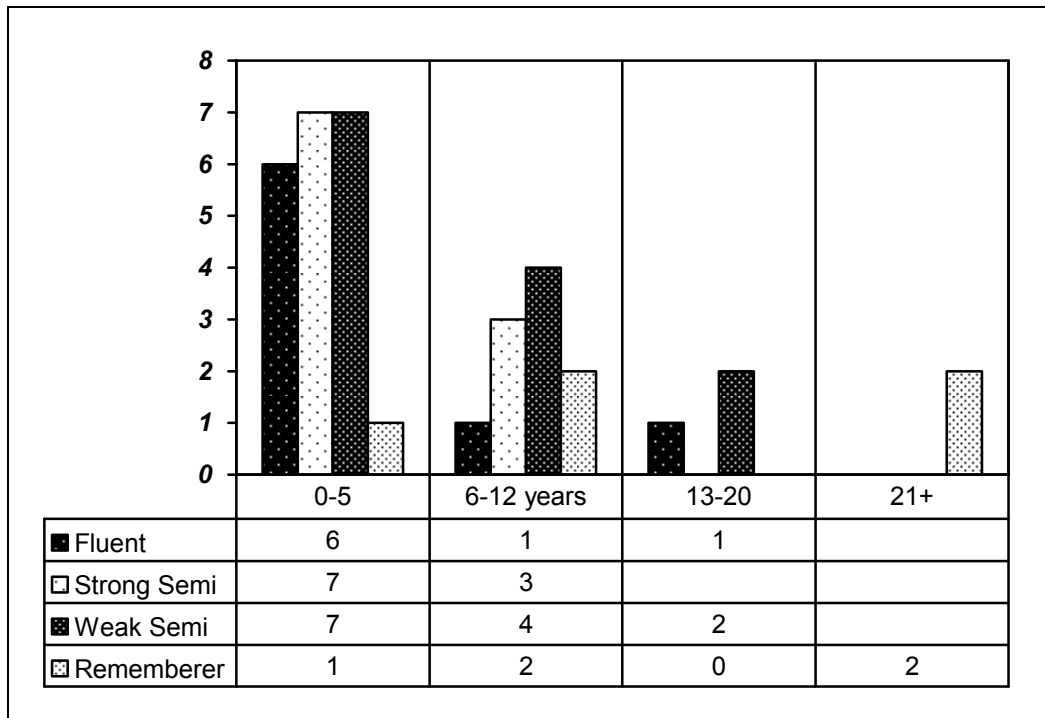
Many participants born ca. 1930 and thereafter report that (1) English and Alsatian were both spoken in the home and acquired simultaneously or (2) although both were spoken, they were not interested in speaking Alsatian. In general, participants report a range of learning environments from acquiring the AL at home to consciously learning it as a second language, which represent a type of continuum in viewing the gradual shift to English:

- Parents spoke only Alsatian at home (~ pre-1925); these participants had to learn English when they started school (learning English was difficult, resulting in some of the eldest speakers deciding not to continue school past the 3rd or 4th grade),
- Parents insisted that they speak only English,
- Some speakers made a conscious decision to learn Alsatian in addition to English,
- Some were not interested in learning or speaking Alsatian,
- Some learned it later in life from a family member or spouse,
- Some learned it later in order to communicate with an older family member.

Figure 1.4 represents thirty-six speaker reports of when they first learned Alsatian coupled with their fluency rating:

⁵⁵ Much research and discussion has been conducted on what researchers term the “Critical Period Hypothesis” or “Sensitive Period Hypothesis.” This hypothesis states that there is a critical period during which a second language can be best learned, and that this critical period ends somewhere in the early development of the child, at its latest point by adolescence. Oversimplified, one can simply state that children are “better learners” than adults. In the Chomskyan tradition, Pinker (1994) argues that children are born with an innate ability to assimilate language and possess a universal grammar, but he goes further in asserting that this ability is lost almost immediately after acquiring elements of the first language encountered.

Figure 1.4: Participant fluency/Age AL learned



The responses here suggest that although acquiring the language at an early age (0–5) is important for any level of fluency, other factors must play a role in learning the AL, such as opportunities to use the language or the motivation of individual speakers as seen for the categories 6–12 years and 13–20 years (see Chapter Six for further discussion of motivational factors in learning the AL).

This section has concentrated on establishing guidelines for determining the different levels of fluency among the pool of participants in this study and investigating fluency in relation to time and age the AL was learned. The next section examines the contexts within which Alsatian is spoken today and describes the effect on AL use of the city partnership with the Alsace.

1.7 LANGUAGE USE TODAY

The use of Alsatian in the Castroville community was positively affected by the initiation of an exchange with the Upper Rhine Alsatian city of Eguisheim, south of Colmar. In 1975, a church leader and TxAls community member initiated a trip to the “Old Country” in the spirit of visiting the villages of their ancestors. The group of twenty-five travelers was welcomed with such interest and enthusiasm that they extended an invitation to the French Alsations to visit Castroville. These language partners quickly established friendships, which many participants today place within a family construct, calling their Alsatian friends “extended family.” Only a few months later, a group of over three hundred French Alsations arrived in Castroville, which set a chain of events into motion that still defines the Castroville community and has undoubtedly been instrumental in the maintenance of TxAls.

The Castroville community leader B.T. captured the rapport between the long-separated communities in his 1976 farewell speech after the community’s second trip to the Alsace:⁵⁶

Farewell. As komet immer a ziet wo mir sheite mien, und sheite isch immer a bittere word, awer alles guetes müest aui zum a and komme. Das war yo so a wunderbare gelegenheit fer dei reise mit zu mache zu dam grosse Elsass. Das muest unbadinked ienst fo da greastch erin erung say fo unserum lawanslaufe. Mit drenne in da ouige und a schware hartz mien mir die liawe lit do im Elsass wider ferlo awer fergasse, nie, nie mol. . . So wan mir noch amol saga, VIVA LA FRANCE VIVA LA ALSASSE, VIVA LA AMERICKA, VIVA LA TEXAS, VIVA LA KLEINE ALSASSE.

⁵⁶ This is transcribed from a handwritten original and provides a rare example of a document written in TxAls.

‘The time always comes when we must part, and parting is always a bitter word, but everything good must also come to an end. This was such a wonderful opportunity to take part in the trip to the ‘big’ (French) Alsace. This must be without a doubt one of the greatest memories of our entire life. With tears in our eyes and a heavy heart, we must leave you dear people here in the Alsace again, but forget you, never, ever. . . So we want to say once again, long live France, long live the Alsace, long live America, long live Texas, long live the Little Alsace.’⁵⁷

In August of this same year, the Castro Colonies Heritage Association was formed “to preserve the objects, places, customs and history of the Castro Colonies and the Alsatian dialect” (CCHA 1983: 42). In 1979, the relationship was sealed officially with a formal city partnership with Eguisheim in the Alsace. Other organizations sprang up and thrived in the renewal of Castroville’s contact with the French Alsace. For example, the *Alsatian Dancers of Texas* was formed in 1980 by a visiting instructor from Strasbourg, France. A student exchange was initiated between Rouffach, Alsace, and Castroville, which resulted in the creation of the *Jardin des Racines* (‘Garden of Roots’) by students from both countries in Castroville’s Regional Park. The *Alsatian Club* was formed in 1995 to give Alsatian speakers a chance to meet monthly and use their language. This evolved into an Alsatian language class taught by a recent Alsatian immigrant from a Lower Rhine area and a local TxAls speaker, which disbanded in 2006.⁵⁸ The exchange between the homeland and Castroville continues to grow and strengthen. In March 2009, a second cultural partnership between the Alsatian town of Ensisheim (north of Mulhouse) and Castroville was established.

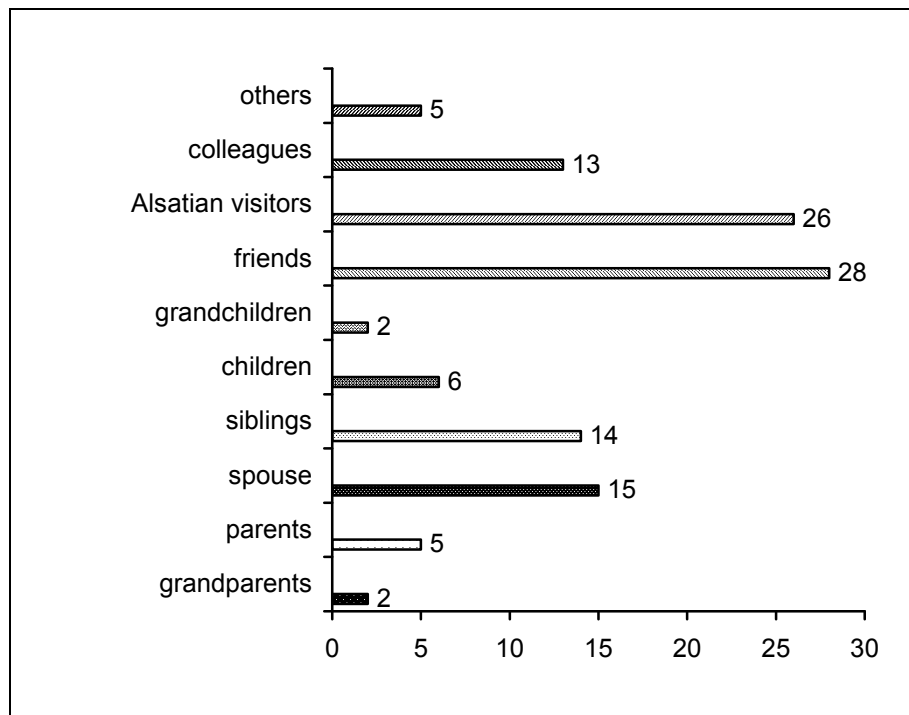
Understanding this deep affiliation with the European Alsace is necessary to understand the responses to several questions posed in the Alsatian Questionnaire (AQ).

⁵⁷ Castroville is designated the “Little Alsace.”

⁵⁸ This was due to an ongoing dispute between the two instructors over methods and differences between their dialects, as the recent immigrant spoke a form of Lower Rhine Alsatian.

For example, Question #7a-b inquires into the domain and frequency with which Alsatian is used now and with whom and includes the response “Alsatian visitors.” All response categories also provided the option “not applicable” (not shown here).⁵⁹ Figure 1.5 represents the thirty-two speakers who completed the AQ⁶⁰ indicating with whom speakers currently use the AL.

Figure 1.5: “With whom do you speak Alsatian now?”



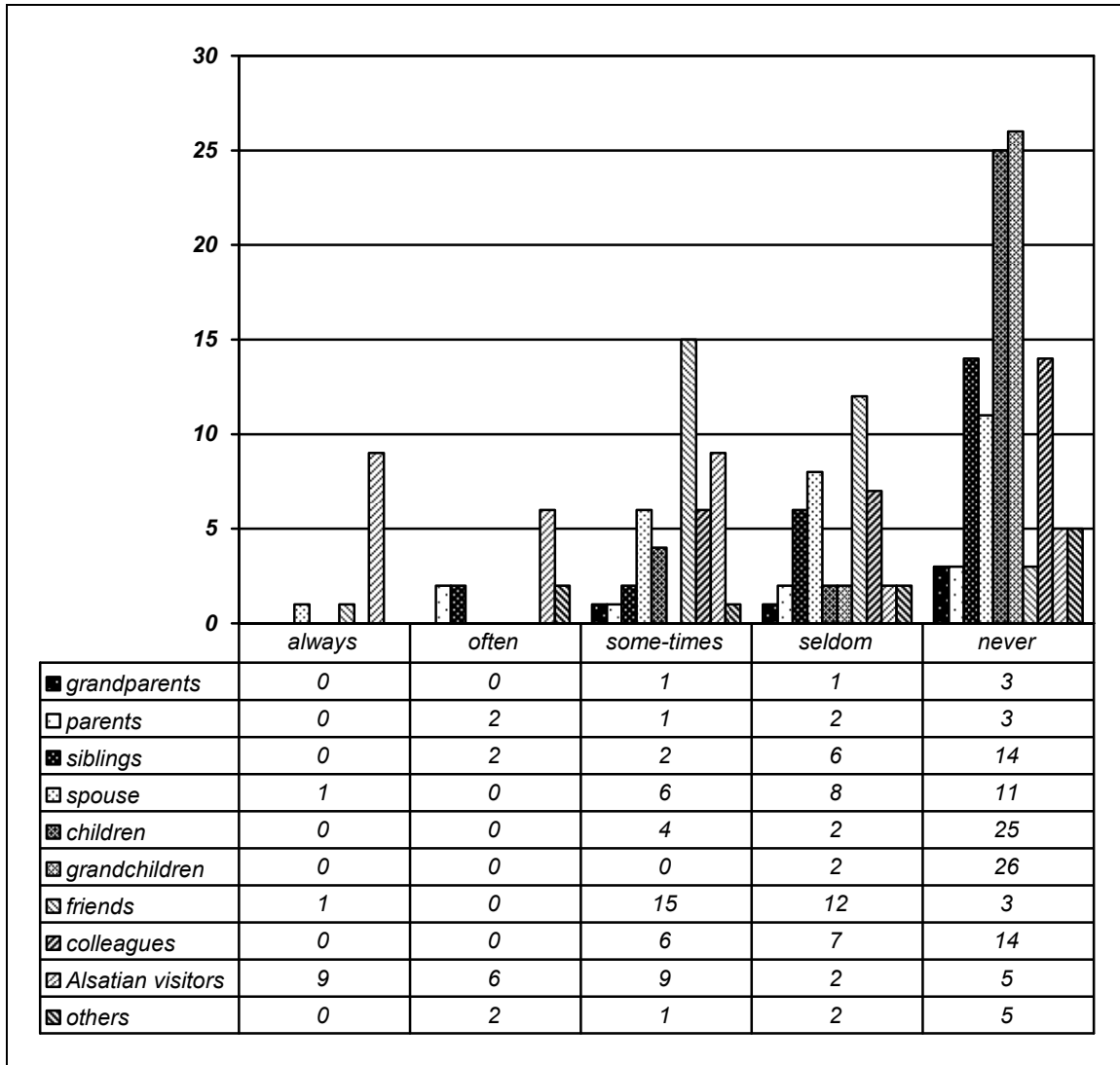
For the Alsatian speakers in this study, the main use of Alsatian today has moved out of the home and family domain and into the domain of friends and colleagues. This is a further indication that language shift to English has been completed in the younger

⁵⁹ The responses for “not applicable” applied to those cases where the applicant needed to indicate a situation that was not listed, as in the absence of siblings, a spouse, or children. This was also used by those who do not participate in the city partnership activities. Inclusion of this option in the chart would have unnecessarily cluttered the reported responses, which do not affect the outcome.

⁶⁰ As previously noted, four additional speakers only completed the TGDP questionnaire, despite repeated requests for the AQ questionnaire mailed to them.

generation, although no statistics are needed to ascertain this fact. The most frequent conversation partners are friends and Alsatian visitors by a significant margin. This again underscores the important role the exchange between Castroville and the Alsatian communities of Ensisheim and Eguisheim plays in the maintenance of TxAls. Siblings, spouses, and colleagues constitute the second largest context where Alsatian is spoken, indicating use of the language among contemporaries who speak the AL. Alsatian is rarely spoken with the younger generation, i.e., children and grandchildren indicative of the break in transmission. The smallest group, parents and grandparents, is affected by the advanced age of the participants. This, of course, has significant repercussions for the preservation of TxAls and will be discussed in Chapter Six. In addition to with whom the language is used, Figure 1.6 indicates the frequency with which Alsatian is used with these language partners:

Figure 1.6: “How often do you speak Alsatian?”

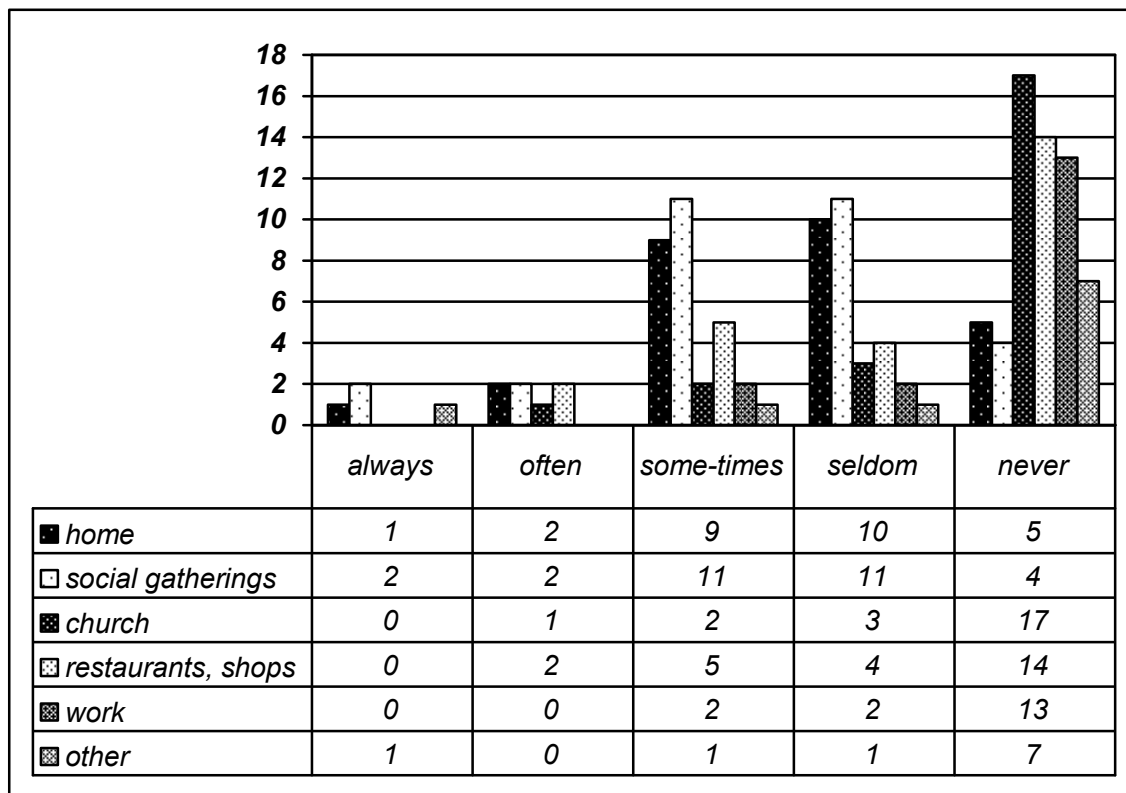


Again, these responses show that twenty-four Texas Alsatians use the AL “always” (9) and “often” (6) and “sometimes” (9) with their European Alsatian counterparts. Only one respondent uses the AL “always” with friends, fifteen speak it “sometimes” and twelve seldom use Alsatian with friends. On the other end of the spectrum, twenty-six TxAls speakers “never” use the AL with their grandchildren and

twenty-five “never” use the language with their children. Fourteen “never” use the AL with their siblings or colleagues. The decreasing use of the AL with their spouse also indicates an increase in the number of participants who have married a non-speaker. These responses again emphasize the relatively selective use of the AL with their (European) Alsatian friends and acquaintances, although most of these speak fairly fluent English.

AQ #7b investigated the use of Alsatian in particular public and private domains of home, social gatherings, church, restaurants and shops, work, and “other.”

Figure 1.7: “Where do you speak Alsatian?”



These domains should also be placed in the context of how the speaker perceives the domain. For example, “restaurants and shops” can imply use with shop-owners or

with other TxAls speakers present at the time. One popular local restaurant and bakery is operated by the great-great-grandson of an early Castroville Alsatian who still speaks TxAls fairly fluently and has been engaged in Castroville's political sphere as councilman and mayor. His restaurant is a favorite destination for lunch and the men's afternoon *Kaffeeklatsch*. As Figure 1.7 illustrates, Alsatian is not used frequently ("always, often") in any of the domains. It is mainly used "sometimes" to "seldom" in private domains of home and social gatherings and essentially "never" in public domains of church, restaurants/shops, and work.

Figures 1.5-1.7 illustrating the use of TxAls today indicate a language in crisis: (1) lack of transmission to the next generation, (2) infrequent use, which is (3) restricted to private domains of home, family (older members or siblings), and friends. Socio-historical and sociolinguistic factors underlying the decline of TxAls are explored in the following chapter. This concludes the overview of introductory sociolinguistic information on the communities and participants involved in this study. A brief chapter overview in the next section orients the reader to the organization of the dissertation and content of descriptions and discussions of linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of TxAls.

1.8 OVERVIEW OF DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

This study addresses various linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects of TxAls based on data obtained from the Alsatian Questionnaire, resamplings of Gilbert (1972) translation tasks, and open-ended interviews. The discussion of TxAls is three-fold: (1) socio-historical, economic, political, and cultural factors influencing the preservation and decline of TxAls are first examined, followed by (2) a detailed analysis of the lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic features of TxAls, supported by Gilbert's (1972) data against the background of its European donor dialect, and (3) a discussion of the

participants' attitudes and dispositions toward their ancestral language based on responses to the Alsatian Questionnaire.

Chapter Two explores the broader socio-historical context of the Alsatian speech community in Castroville in order to frame discussions on language maintenance and loss. Socio-cultural, economic, and political scenarios in Medina County are investigated within a historical framework and connected to linguistic developments (diglossia, language shift) indicative of a language in crisis. The constellations particular to Castroville are discussed within general chronological phases, as well as within typological and taxonomic frameworks for language endangerment (e.g., Giles et al. 1977, Campbell 1994, Grenoble & Whaley 1998, etc.) and shift (e.g., Mattheier 2003, Salmons 2005, Boas 2009a, etc.).

Chapter Three introduces the basic lexical inventory of TxAls by examining items from the *Ellsasser Wordbuch* (1981), participant narratives, and resamplings of Gilbert's (1972) data in Medina County. Lexical items which distinguish TxAls from near-standard TxG varieties are also investigated. Language contact phenomena such as borrowing, code-switching, and convergence are examined typologically to provide initial insights into what constitutes the linguistic entity known as Texas Alsatian.

Chapter Four examines the phonology of Texas Alsatian by investigating selected vocalic and consonantal features characteristic of European Alsatian (ALS), as defined by Keller (1961), Phillip and Botherel-Witz (1989), and Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003). Features such as the retention of Middle High German (MHG) diphthongs and the spirantization of SG /b/ constitute the basis for examining TxAls phonologically within the context of linguistic maintenance and change. Gilbert's (1972) data for Medina County is displayed next to 2009 resamplings in tables to determine maintenance of or developments in these selected features. Phonological developments such as open

syllable lengthening and the introduction of new phonemes are discussed and hypotheses on factors involved in these changes are put forward.

Chapter Five focuses on selected morphosyntactic features of the TxAls noun, such as those involving gender, case, and number, and the TxAls verb (declination, tense, voice). The degree of maintenance and/or loss of these features is again investigated by comparing features of the Alsatian donor dialect(s) and Gilbert's (1972) data with data from resamplings and participants' narratives collected during the course of this study. Case loss observed by Eikel (1954), Gilbert (1965b), and Boas (2009a) in TxG is evaluated by examining resamplings of Gilbert's (1972) data on determiners and pronouns. TxAls morphosyntactic features are also investigated for other developments observed in TxG, such as simplification and reduction.

Chapter Six investigates TxAls speaker attitudes, dispositions, and ideologies which are instrumental in the maintainance of the ancestral language, but also those which might be contributing to its decline, such as accommodation or negative attitudes toward its status and practical value. Survey questions from the Alsatian Questionnaire investigating issues related to ethnic identity, language status and value, and language choice are charted and evaluated in order to provide insights on community ideologies.

The dissertation concludes with a synopsis of the study's findings on each research question after which implications of findings for linguistic and sociolinguistic research areas relating to language maintenance, shift, and death are discussed, e.g., language contact phenomena such as structural attrition, borrowing, and diglossia.

CHAPTER TWO: THE SOCIOHISTORICAL CONTEXT

The fundamental cause for the disappearance of a human language is well known. Speakers abandon their native tongue in adaptation to an environment where use of that language is not longer advantageous to them . . . The more complex, and thus obscure, issue is “What brings about the decreased efficacy of a language in the first place? A sufficient answer involves outlining *an intricate matrix of variables* dealing with the community’s self-identity, its relationship with other groups, the degree of political autonomy of the group, its access to avenues of material prosperity, etc.

--Grenoble & Whaley (1998: 2)⁶¹

2.1 THE ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

This chapter explores the broader setting of the “intricate matrix of variables” of the Alsatian speech community in Castroville for the purpose of framing discussions on language maintenance and shift. Weinreich (1953) was one of the earliest American scholars to emphasize the study of languages in contact from both a linguistic and a socio-cultural perspective to facilitate understanding of language processes. Einar Haugen (1972) also pointed to the interrelatedness of linguistics, sociology, and psychology in his studies of American Norwegian (Dil 1972: 3). He underscored the strong linguistic component of “language ecology” or the “study of interactions between any given language and its environment” (Dil 1972: 325). Grenoble & Whaley (1998: 24) note several shortcomings of the eco-linguistic approach which neglect variables relevant to endangered languages, such as “historical processes that bring about the eco-

⁶¹ They note the exception of languages which die when the entire community is eliminated, as in cases of war, disease, and genocide.

linguistic status of the language in the first place,” the exclusion of subjective variables of attitude, and its design for broader classification which neglects more subtle influences on language maintenance and loss. The term *extra-linguistic* will refer to all of these external variables, whether micro (within the community) or macro (outside)⁶² (Grenoble & Whaley 1998).

There is a long list of scholarly discussion of extra-linguistic factors (e.g., Kloss 1966, Campbell and Muntzel 1989, Grenoble & Whaley 1998, Wolfram 2002, etc.) which operate differently according to the particular contact situation, i.e., the same factors which seem to trigger shift in some languages can effect maintenance in others. This necessitates a careful examination of individual speech communities. This chapter examines as many of these extra-linguistic factors as possible for the purpose of describing the matrix particular to the community of Castroville which has affected certain outcomes related to the preservation and decline of Texas Alsatian.

Kloss (1966: 206, 209-213) noted extra-linguistic interactions contributing to or hindering language maintenance in his studies on German-American speech islands and compiled a list of fifteen factors⁶³ centered on socio-cultural characteristics of the group, its numerical strength, linguistic status and distinctiveness, religious affiliation⁶⁴ (religio-

⁶² This is a further division of what are generally identified as external factors affecting language change in contact situations.

⁶³ Nine factors work either for or against language maintenance: (1) high educational level of immigrants; (2) low educational level of immigrants, (3) great numerical strength, (4) smallness of the group, (5) cultural and/or linguistic similarity to Anglo-Americans, (6) great cultural and/or linguistic dissimilarity between minority and majority, (7) suppression of minority tongue(s), (8) permissive attitude of majority group, (9) socio-cultural characteristics of the minority group in question.

Six additional factors aid language maintenance: (1) religio-societal insulation; (2) time of immigration: earlier than or simultaneously with the first Anglo-Americans; (3) existence of language islands, (4) affiliation with denominations fostering parochial schools; (5) pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts; and (6) former use as the only official tongue during pre-Anglo-American period.

⁶⁴ Huffines (1990), however, in her studies of Pennsylvania German, finds that non-sectarian speakers (versus Amish and Mennonite sectarians) were more conservative in their retention of the dative case and marking infinitives with *zu*. This might indicate that religio-societal insulation, although perhaps a key factor in language maintenance, is not necessarily the determining factor, but instead, individual attitudes which form community ideologies, or vice versa.

societal insulation), and educational level. Campbell (1994: 193) compiles an extensive list of extra-linguistic factors *adversely* affecting language maintenance in contact situations:

Discrimination, repression, rapid population collapse, lack of economic opportunities, on-going industrialization, rapid economic transformation, work patterns, migrant labor, communication with outside regions, resettlement, dispersion, migration, literacy, compulsory education, official language policies, military service, marriage patterns, acculturation, cultural destruction, war, slavery, famine, epidemics, religious proselytizing, resource depletion and forced changes in subsistence patterns, lack of social cohesion, lack of physical proximity among speakers, symbolism of the dominant language, . . . stigmatization, low prestige of the dying variety, absence of institutions that establish norms (schools, academics, texts), particular historical events, etc.

Many of these factors can be identified in the changing matrix of the Alsatian-speaking community, such as migration, marriage patterns, war, stigmatization, low prestige of the dying variety, and particular historical events, a combination of which enabled the shift to English as in other TxG dialects. However, other factors first described by Kloss (1966), in particular cultural and linguistic distinctiveness, appear to be instrumental in maintaining the ancestral language in private domains, creating a diglossic situation (see 2.6) which has slowly deteriorated over the last seventy years.

Five phases⁶⁵ similar to Mattheier's (2003: 28) five phases in the life of a speech island become apparent in the description of socio-historical, political and economic developments of the Texas Alsatian community: (1) *establishment* (~1840-1860); (2) *stabilization* (~1860-1890); (3) *isolation* (~1890-1940); (4) *modernization* (~1940-1970) and *disintegration* or *decline* (~1970-present).⁶⁶ Within this framework, Castroville's

⁶⁵ These roughly correspond to the linguistic development of TxAls. These phases intersect with each other and are only intended to serve as general categories to facilitate understanding of the extra-linguistic variables which established, protected, and supported the Alsatian ethnic group of Castroville and its language, as well as those which triggered its decline.

⁶⁶ Mattheier (2003: 28) divides the life of a speech island into roughly five phases which can also be applied to TxG speech communities: (1) migration and group formation, (2) consolidation and integration, during which linguistic mixing, leveling, and group identity is formed (if this does not occur, assimilation

ethnic beginnings as an *Alsatian settlement* (§2.2) are investigated to identify the region of the immigrants' origin (§2.2.4), crucial to the discussion of linguistic maintenance in TxAls. The settlement's historical development is then described to establish its demographic, economic, and political matrix important to understanding the community's social scaffolding as related to its ethnic composition, status, and ideologies. Particular emphasis is given to Henri Castro's recruitment and settlement efforts, the establishment of churches and schools (§2.3), and Castroville's political role in regional government (§2.4).

Subsequently, linguistic developments connected to these extra-linguistic variables are traced to determine how certain combinations affected the maintenance and decline of TxAls. As a basis for this discussion, the domain use of Alsatian and English in §2.5 is established and compared with data on TxG speech communities in Gillespie (Salmons 1983) and Comal (Boas 2009a) counties. General stages of diglossia and language shift in the TxAls speech community as framed by Batibo (1992) are compared with research on other TxG communities (Salmons 1983, Boas 2009a) to establish similarities or differences in language use. The discussion concludes with a general assessment in §2.6 of the socio-historical events affecting the current linguistic status of Texas Alsatian within the typological framework which assesses an ethnic group's "vitality" as a measuring stick for endangerment (Giles et al. 1977).

The description of this "intricate matrix of variables" begins by describing the general historical context accompanied by a more specific account of the initial settlement and establishment of Castroville as a predominantly Alsatian settlement.

to the new environment occurs quickly), (3) stabilization, with no or only minor linguistic loss, (4) assimilation, and (5) death (the last phase is often epitomized as a "tourist attraction" or "cultural island").

2.2 BEGINNINGS:⁶⁷ THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

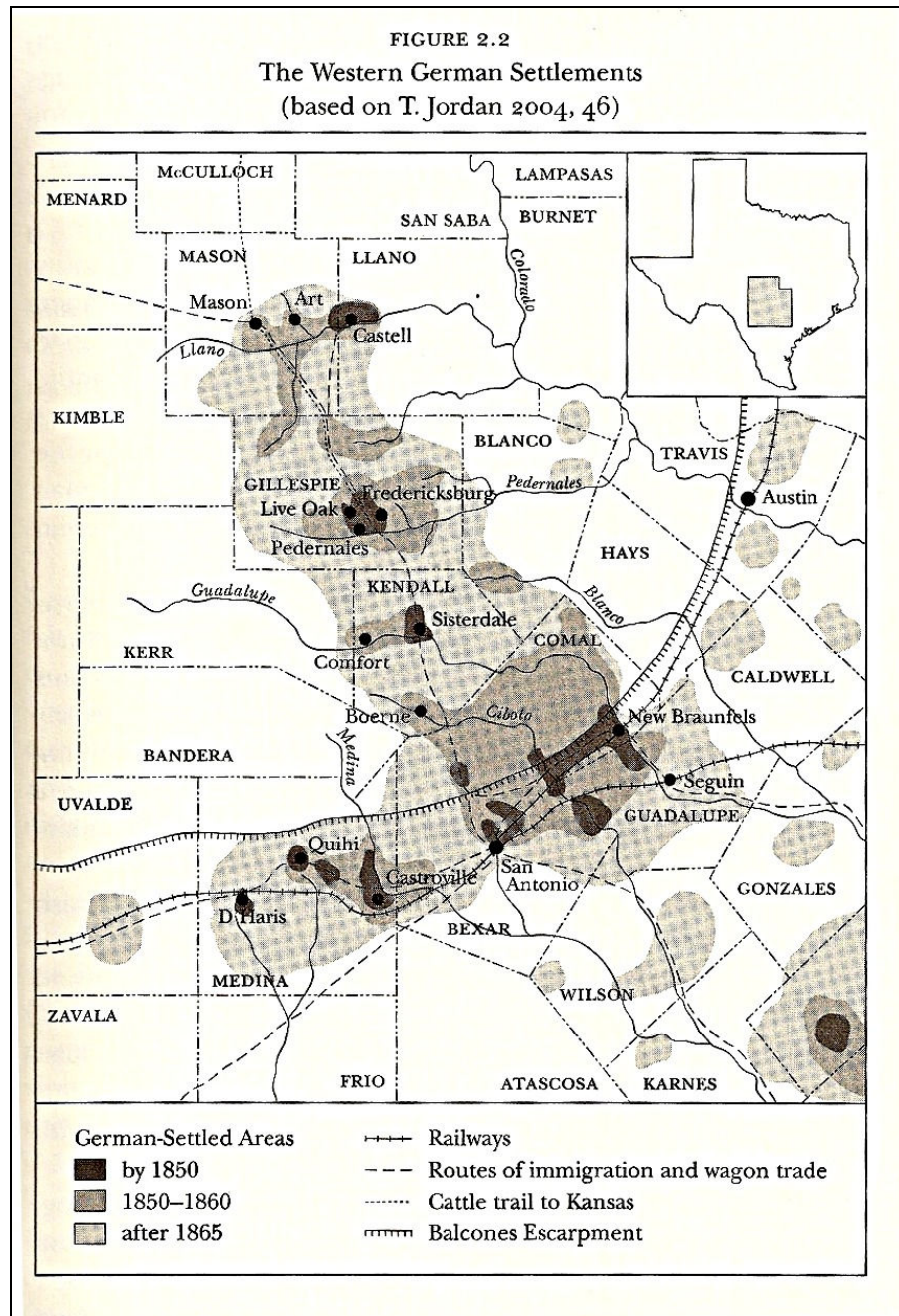
The period of Texas immigration and settlement in the 19th century (~1820-1890) spanned five different governments. When Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, it also took possession of the Texas territory until 1836, at which time Texas declared its independence. The Republic of Texas existed until 1845, when it accepted statehood in the United States of America. Texas succeeded from the Union in 1861 and joined the Confederacy until the end of the Civil War in 1865, at which time it was again made part of the Union.

Therefore, indigenous Indian tribes, Spanish and Mexican settlers, and more recent Anglo settlers from the southern states already occupied parts of the territory called Texas when the first German-speaking⁶⁸ settlers arrived. This first wave of German-speaking immigrants to Texas (1830-1860) created frontier settlements that represent the remaining centers of German language and culture today, e.g., New Braunfels in Comal County and Fredericksburg in Gillespie County. Eastern Texas was already fairly well-inhabited by Anglo settlers when the German immigrants arrived, but western settlements such as Fredericksburg, Comfort, and Castroville were situated on isolated grants occupied by nomadic native tribes at the edge of the frontier. This geographic isolation allowed for the development of relatively homogenous German-speaking *Sprachinseln* ('speech islands'), whose nearest neighbors were also German-speaking communities.

⁶⁷ The main sources for information on German immigration in these following sections were taken from Weaver (1985), Biesele (1987), Jordan (2004), and Boas (2009a) with additional notes from Goldthorp (1928) and Herff (1949).

⁶⁸ The term "German-speaking" includes areas such as Switzerland, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Alsace, and Luxemburg.

Illustration 2.1: The Western German Settlements (Boas 2009a: 37)



2.2.1 German immigration to Texas⁶⁹

Political and social environments in the early-mid 19th century in both Texas and Germany were conducive to transplanting German immigrants to Texas soil. Economically, as were other parts of Central Europe, Germany was suffering from poor harvests, famines, overpopulation, and the effects of industrialization, causing untenable conditions of widespread hunger, unemployment, and poverty. In the Upper Rhine, Alsace, the situation was just as critical. Its population more than doubled from 270,000 to 470,000 between 1784-1876, and statistics on the size of land plots showed that 73% of landowners in the Upper Rhine had fields smaller than twelve acres (Erny 2003: 125), due to inheritance laws on the division of land. The lure of the new Republic with its freedoms and economic opportunities, coupled with letters of encouragement from early adventurers such as Friedrich Ernst, set an immigration movement in motion that lasted for thirty years.

Politically, the strict economic policies of the German authoritarian monarchies set against political counter-movements of freedom, equality, and a desire for a unified Germany instigated ever-increasing rebellions against the ruling class, culminating in the Rebellion of 1848. When the Rebellion failed and participants saw incarceration, punishment, and death as their probable end, many joined the already steady flow of emigrants departing from German, Belgian, and Dutch ports to New York, New Orleans, and Galveston.

Due to the broad socio-economic scope of citizens affected by these economic, social, and political factors, the emigrant pool consisted of a varied group of farmers,

⁶⁹ “German” is employed here as the broader term for Germanic dialects spoken in “Germany,” a loose confederation of states and principalities extant at the time of the first strong wave of immigration to Texas in the 1830s and 40s. It also includes the dialects spoken within the progressively unified and varying political borders of the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the Alsace. For a detailed discussion of Texas immigration periods and settlement patterns, see Boas (2009a: 37-9). See Struve (1996) for a more detailed discussion of what drew German settlers to Mexico, Texas, and the United States.

craftsmen, merchants, and academics searching for opportunities to improve their condition for themselves and their families. The Republic of Texas provided a prime solution. It had achieved independence in 1836 and was looking for ways to boost its financial viability as a new nation and to claim and protect its vast and relatively unsettled lands from Mexico and native American tribes. One strategy entailed soliciting financial loans from the United States and Europe.⁷⁰ Populating its lands provided an answer to both of these problems. The new Republic created incentives to attract settlers from the United States which at first favored veterans and their families, but then was extended to all heads of families. The main strategy was to offer free parcels of uncultivated land in return for cultivation and homesteading with certain time, acreage, and survey restrictions. When these attempts were largely unsuccessful, the government sought to enlist the aid of private companies, and finally, private individuals, to aid in settling its public lands.

This section has described specific economic, political, and social conditions in both Europe and Texas which created ideal conditions for immigration. The following sections focus on the colonization of unsettled lands in what was to become known as Medina County.

2.2.2 Immigration to Medina County

Although there were a few Württembergers in Gillespie County and a number of southwestern Germans, including Swiss and especially Alsatians, in Medina County, there were in general very few settlers from southern Germany.

--Glenn Gilbert (1972: 1)

⁷⁰ The United States was undergoing its own fiscal problems and could not support the new Republic. France was interested in providing a loan, but under conditions that the Texas government could not accept, such as the establishments of forts manned by French troops along the frontier (see §2.2.3 for further details).

Medina County has been somewhat overlooked in most discussions of German immigration to Texas. Jordan (2004: 157), however, gives Medina County equal prominence in his agricultural analysis of the western settlements.⁷¹ In fact, the immigration efforts of Henri Castro resulted in the earliest settlement (1844) on land grants issued in 1842 to foreign investors from Belgium, France, England, and Germany, almost a year ahead of the efforts of the German *Society for the Protection of German Immigrants to Texas*, commonly known as the *Adelsverein*.⁷² The *Adelsverein* is credited with bringing the main wave of German immigrants to Texas from 1844-1846 with a total of 7,380 immigrants as opposed to Castro's 2,134 (Jordan 2004: 45-7), which also accounts for the focus on the eastern and western settlements of the *Adelsverein*.

The cursory acknowledgment of Castro's efforts in Medina County is also understandable, as Castro's enterprise was based politically on French soil, and not on German. The casual observer might conclude that the emigrants Castro brought to Texas were not German-speaking at all, but French. To complicate perceptions of German settlers even further, Alsatian is relatively unknown to many who are unaware of its German provenance, or if anything, who often mistakenly assume it to be a French dialect.⁷³ An account of Castro's efforts to recruit colonists for one of his land grants and the result of his efforts is described in the next two sections to establish certain demographics of the German-speaking French colonists which differentiated them from the majority of the immigrants recruited by the *Adelsverein*.

⁷¹ "The three most important German settlements in the western counties, New Braunfels, Castroville, and Fredericksburg, all represented attempts by their founder to establish, with some modifications, the nucleated farm villages of the Old World on Texas soil."

⁷² Or 'nobles' society'; it became identified by this shortened name, as it was founded by a group of noblemen from Mainz and surrounding areas.

⁷³ For example, the U.S. Census categorizes Alsatian under the *French* language. Also, I fortunately discovered one important source for discussions of Alsatian immigration to Texas in the monograph, *The French in Texas: History, migration, culture* (2003). Part of a description posted online for the city of Castroville states: "Settled by Alsatian immigrants in the 1840s, the city still has a strong *French* culture."

2.2.3 Henri Castro, *Empresario*⁷⁴

My friend presented me to Mr. Castro. He was a middle-aged man dressed in the latest fashion. He had a grand air and something of the manner of a diplomat, which impressed me at once.

--Auguste Frétellière (Waugh 1934: 6)

Henri Castro was born to a Jewish family of Portuguese ancestry in Bayonnes, France, in July 1786. He immigrated to the United States after the fall of Napoleon and was naturalized in 1827 (THC 2002: 13), but returned to Paris in 1838, where he became associated with the Lafitte banking interests (Weaver 1985: 13). He was one of the first private entrepreneurs to take advantage of a bill passed by the Texas legislature in February 1841, which gave the president authority to enter into settlement contracts of public lands with individual entrepreneurs. The basic terms of the land concessions required the *empresario* to settle 600 families within three years, one-third of whom had to be in Texas within one year. This could be extended by six months with approval of the president. As incentive, the contractor would be compensated with ten sections of land for every 100 families or with five sections for every 100 single men (Weaver 1985: 21). Castro and his partner Jassaud were awarded a contract to settle two land grants on February 15, 1842. One of these, situated south of Brownsville, was occupied by Mexican troops and considered too difficult and dangerous for settlement. The other tract, just twenty-five miles west of San Antonio, was occupied by the Lipan and Comanche Indian tribes. Without viewing the grant lands, Henri Castro decided to concentrate his recruitment and settlement efforts on the latter in what is now Medina County.

⁷⁴ Meaning “entrepreneur”; this term was used for the business contract modeled after the incentives the Spanish government had instigated during its rule over the Texas territory in order to effect settlements and thus protect its land.

In December of 1841, Henri Castro was sent to Texas from Louisiana by Lafitte & Company to negotiate terms for a five-million-dollar loan to the Republic of Texas (Weaver 1985: 12-13). Unfortunately, he lost the support of an influential countryman, the French *charge-d'affaires* Comte de Saligny, who was supporting a competing proposition, the Franco-Texienne Bill.⁷⁵ Castro had convinced de Saligny of his intention to support this bill, but when Castro represented Lafitte and Company's bill instead and succeeded (after taking advantage of de Saligny's hospitality and introductions), de Saligny felt betrayed. This eventually prompted de Saligny to write letters to powerful politicians back in France which contained libelous accusations (Waugh 1934: 2-4).⁷⁶ This effectively halted Castro's appointment as French Consul-General to Texas and subsequently hurt his recruiting efforts in Paris, forcing him to look elsewhere for prospective settlers. This was the defining moment for the future colony of Castroville. Castro moved his recruiting efforts away from Paris to the highly-populated Rhine valley area: the Alsace, Baden, and Switzerland (Weaver 1985:33).

Castro's initial recruiting efforts were based on his view that farmers would be best-suited to settle the frontier lands he had contracted, but he soon discovered that they were not so easily found and expanded his search to other occupations.⁷⁷ Castroville was the result of his first successful recruiting efforts in the agricultural areas in the Rhine river valley.

⁷⁵ The Franco-Texienne Bill was devised by de Saligny. It called for establishing a French company which would build twenty forts manned with French colonists along the western frontier. In return, the company would receive three million acres on which it would locate 8,000 French settlers. Also, anticipating opposition to the bill, he urged the French government to support a five million dollar loan that the Texas government was trying to secure (Weaver 1985: 8-10).

⁷⁶ One such unverified story was that Castro had robbed a bank in New York. Waugh (1934:4), however, suggests that neither man was above reproach.

⁷⁷ In the colony in 1850, only 40% of the 177 heads of households listed themselves as farmers (Weaver 1985: 90) (see §3.6 for a list of trades).

2.2.4 The Alsatians of Castroville

These four expeditions, added to those already mentioned, constitute altogether seven vessels transporting more than 700 emigrants of whom the great majority are tillers of the soil. In selecting colonists I have uniformly required certain conditions, such as good character, the necessary clothing and farming implements, subsistence for one year as nearly as possible . . .

--Henri Castro to Sam Houston (Waugh 1934: 15)

The first of Castro's ships to sail from Le Havre to Galveston was the *Ebro* in November 1842, which transported 144 farmers and artisans from the Alsace-Lorraine, forty-two of which were eligible to receive land (Weaver 1985: 28). They arrived in January 1843, a good year ahead of the first ships of the *Adelsverein*. The *Lyons* sailed January 1843 from Le Havre and the *Louis Philippe* in February from Dunkirk. Castro succeeded in bringing a total of 2,134 (Weaver 1985: 109) emigrants to Texas.

According to Erny (1999: 14), however, the first two *Castroville* Alsatians arrived on the *Louis Philippe*. The *Jean Key* sailed on October 25, 1843, bringing fifty-two Alsatians, and the *Heinrich*, bound for Galveston, sailed on December 7, 1843, with fifty-five Alsatians on board. Laybourn (1985 II: 244) provides a sample list of twelve Alsatian heads of household who sailed on the *Heinrich*, their occupation, age, and village of origin (* indicates those present at the founding of Castroville):

Table 2.1: Alsatian passengers on the *Heinrich*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Dept</i>
*Zurcher, Johann (Jean) Ulrich	farmer, baker	47	4 persons	Mulhouse	HR
Dreyer, Martin	farmer	48	8 persons	Ranspach	HR
Sacherer, Gabriel	farmer, butcher	38	6 persons	Mulhouse	HR
Kempf, Joseph	farmer	34	4 persons	Meyenheim	HR
Schuh, Georg	engineer, farmer	34	single	Bischheim	BR
Syren, Nikolaus	farmer	45	single, family to follow	Lauten- bachzell	HR
Simon, Michael	farmer	29	4 persons	Mollau	HR
*Stephan, Johann (Jean)	farmer	30	single, fiancée & other young lady	Fellering	HR
*Haller, Joseph	farmer	31	single	Ranspach	HR
Zeyer, Joseph	farmer, land surveyor	26	single	Franken	HR
Winkler, Denis	farmer	29	single	Ranspach	HR
*Discher, Joseph	farmer	27	single	Fellering	HR

Passenger lists of the Alsatian immigrants like the above provide substantiate the exact origin of Castro's colonists important in the discussion of linguistic maintenance. The list also indicates that the Upper Rhine (HR=*Haut-Rhin*) was the main area of origin. Erny (1999: 13) statistically shows that 93.9% of the Alsations who immigrated to Texas between 1843-1869 were from the Upper Rhine Department. Furthermore, 17% of these Alsations emigrated from St. Almarin canton in the Upper Rhine Department and 23.8% from Ensisheim canton. The list also provides evidence of Castro's focus on recruiting farmers for his venture, as well as a potential explanation of the high percentage of those

who listed their occupation as farmer in 1850, but not in 1860: they switched to their “other” trade, i.e., butcher, baker, engineer, or surveyor, to fulfill the needs of the growing community.

Two additional ships in April and May 1844, the *Ocean* and *Jeanette Marie*, carried 104 Alsatian families to Texas. Twenty more ships would eventually bring the total to approximately 2,500 people (CCHA 1983: 62). Laybourn (1985 II: 245) identifies three Castroville families from Altorf in the Lower Rhine (*Bas-Rhin*), who sailed on the *Jeanette Marie* bound for Galveston: (Laurent) Rihn, (Joseph) Burell, Weber, and Schaeffer. The men of the first three families were also present at the founding of Castroville.

Laybourn (1985 II: 243) compiles a list of the following Upper Rhine villages of origin from passenger lists (see Illustration 1.3):

Bettlach, Cernay, Colmar, Felling, Franken, Friesen, Heiteren, Hirtzfelden, Hochstatt, Husseren, Kruth, Lautenbachzell, Malmerspach, Meyenheim, Mittelwihr, Mitzach, Mollau, Mulhouse, Niederentzen, Oberentzen, Oderen, Ranspach, Ribeauville, Riedisheim, Rixheim, Rorschwihr, Rouffach, Rustenhart, Saint-Hippolyte, Steinbrunn-le-Haut, Sentheim, Thann, Urbes, Winzenheim, Wittelsheim.⁷⁸

After many hardships encountered on the sea and a long land trek from Port Lavaca to San Antonio, Castro and company officials arrived at the grant with only twenty-seven of the contracted settlers and twenty hired Mexican cart drivers (Weaver 1985: 50). Many prospective settlers had succumbed to disease and lack of food and shelter at Galveston, or decided to remain there or at other places on the road to San Antonio;⁷⁹ some were recruited by the *Adelsverein*⁸⁰ along the way, and some remained

⁷⁸ The Upper Rhine villages Berrwiller, Bourbach, Soppe-le-Haut, and Bretten are mentioned in Laybourn’s “fort incomplète” (‘very incomplete’) list of Alsatian immigrants who were buried in Castroville’s cemetery.

⁷⁹ For instance, the Jacob Bluntzer family from Oderen, Alsace, decided to settle in Meyersville (Laybourn 1985: 251-52).

in San Antonio, discouraged by the extreme heat and continuous rain of the summer of 1844.

After seeing his grant for the first time, Castro purchased another parcel of seventeen leagues of land from John McMullen to the east within a horseshoe bend of the Medina River which he felt was better suited for his first colony (Weaver 1985: 46). So it was that Castroville was founded on September 3, 1844, on the banks of the Medina River (CCHA 1983: 62). Quihi was established in March 1845, Vandenberg on the banks of the Verde River in 1846,⁸¹ and D'Hanis by twenty-nine Alsatian families in 1847 (Hudson 1997: 19), bringing the total of Castro colonies to four within three years.

The forty-eight individuals of the first Castro colony, which they named Castroville (CCHA 1983: 62),⁸² signed the founding document on September 12, 1844.⁸³ According to Erny (1999: 13), this group included thirty-three French, twenty-two of which were Alsatian, and ten Germans.

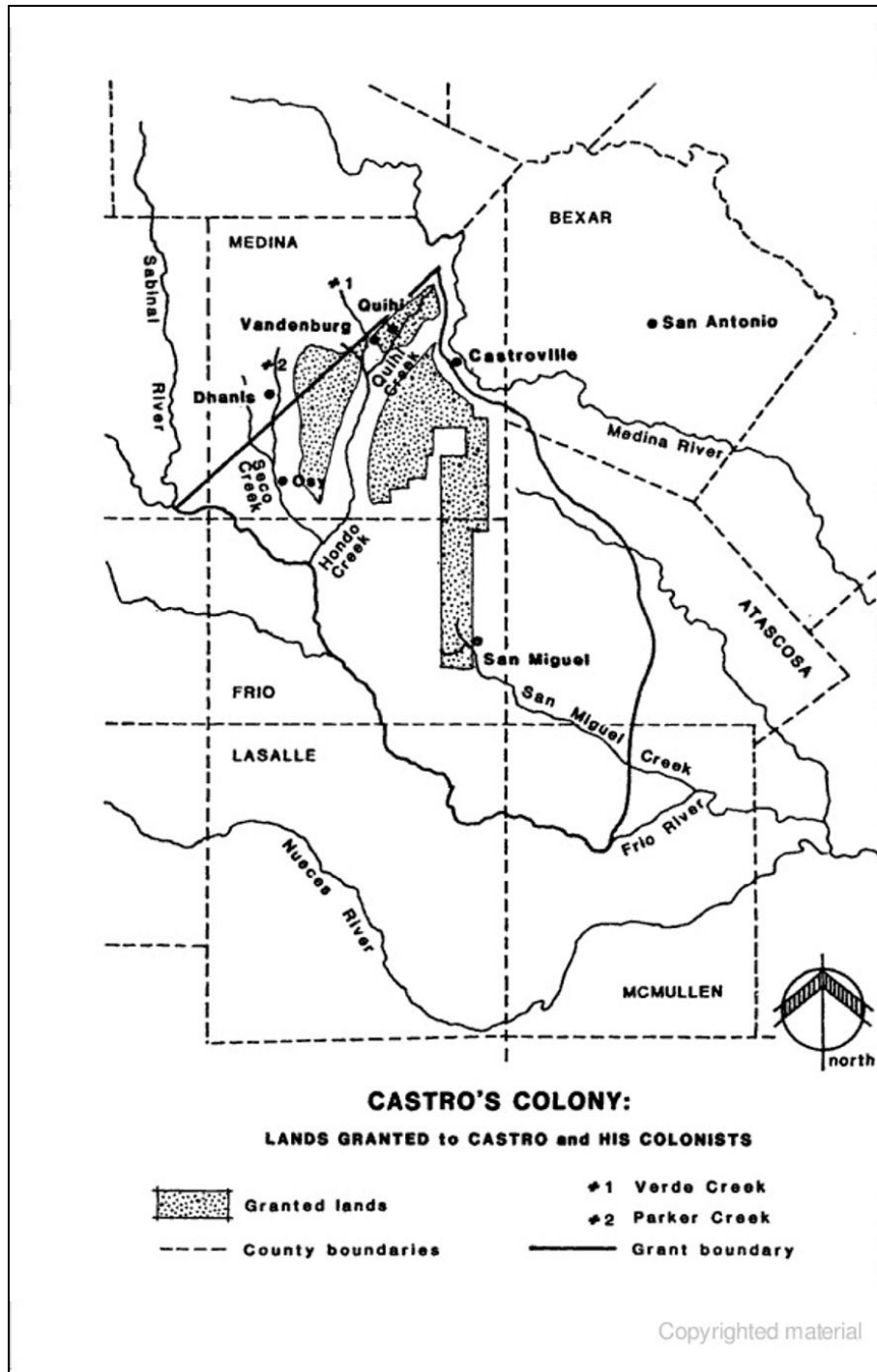
⁸⁰ There was quite a bit of bitterness between the two enterprises. Bourgeois of the *Adelsverein* constantly approached Castro's settlers at sea, in Galveston, and even in San Antonio, with offers to enlist them in the *Adelsverein* settlement groups.

⁸¹ Vandenberg was abandoned in the 1880's due to drought conditions.

⁸² The city council made two attempts to change the name to "Medina City" in 1853 and 1855, but the Alsations defeated both attempts (CCHA 1983: 63).

⁸³ This date and the original colonists are inscribed on the monument of Castroville's September Square, dedicated and presented by the Order of the Alhambra on October 12, 1931.

Illustration 2.1: Castro's Colonies (Weaver 1985: 118)



Castro and the colonists laid out the town within the horseshoe to the west of the Medina River in a typical European grid formation, with a central square. The individual 40-acre plots were surveyed to the north and northeast outside of the town. Primary streets (named for capitals of Europe) ran east-west, and secondary streets (named for Castro's relatives and friends) ran north and south (THC 2002: 15). The grid and the street names remain today.

As noted in §1.4.1, there were several ethnic groups represented when Castroville was founded. Anglo, Indian, and Hispanic inhabitants already occupied the area when the first group of settlers from the Alsace arrived. Subsequent Castro efforts brought Germans from the northern and north-central areas of Germany to his colonies of Castroville, Quihi, Vandenberg, and D'Hanis. Although many Texas Alsatians consider themselves a separate ethnic group from the Texas Germans (see Fig. 6.5), intermarriage has blurred these lines considerably.

2.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXTS: RELIGION AND EDUCATION⁸⁴

The importance of similar belief systems should not be underestimated as motivation for societal grouping and is also salient in German immigrant settlement patterns (Moore 1975: 16) and maintenance of the ancestral language (Kloss 1966). Unlike the *Adelsverein* based in Nassau whose colonists were predominantly Lutheran Germans from Hessen, Castro's first colonists were mainly Catholic,⁸⁵ indicative of France's long history of Catholicism, and included only a small number of Lutheran colonists. Although the overall number of German Catholics to German Lutherans in

⁸⁴ Since social, cultural, and political factors are interdependent, some repetition is unavoidable in the following sections.

⁸⁵ See §1.4.2 and Weaver's (1985) estimates. All Alsatian-speaking participants interviewed in 2007-9 identified their religious affiliation as Roman Catholic.

Texas was approximately one to three, German Catholics established strong religious communities still evidenced today in Fredericksburg, New Braunfels, and Castroville.

Looking at the two smaller original settlements of Quihi and D'Hanis (Vandenberg ceased to exist in the 1880s), this division is perhaps more apparent. Quihi (pop. 104),⁸⁶ settled by families from the Alsace and East Frisia, is predominantly a German Lutheran community with one church (Bethlehem Lutheran).⁸⁷ Finger (CCHA 1983: 132) notes that “while Castroville presents a French front, the German influence predominates in Quihi . . .” D'Hanis (pop. 548), twenty-five miles to the west of Castroville, was settled by twenty-nine Alsatian families, most of whom “were of [the] Catholic faith” (CCHA 1983: 92). Today, D'Hanis remains a predominantly Catholic community (Holy Cross Parish).

The Catholic tradition of separate education with its roots in European monasteries and convents was also transplanted to the New World as an effective means of securing future generations of believers. Nicolini (2004: 94-5) also refers the switch to English that many congregations made in order to attract non-German-speaking Catholics in Texas. In Medina County, too, whose parochial schools were headed by the Sisters of the Divine Providence, lessons were given in English in order to further their missionary work. These Sisters were schooled in German and French, and prioritized learning English upon arrival in Texas.⁸⁸

Kloss (1966) also suggests that the establishment of parochial schools in German communities in earlier immigration periods seems to have been instrumental in the maintenance of the ancestral language (see also Durin 1974, Moore 1975).⁸⁹ While the

⁸⁶ Population statistics are from the 2000 US Census.

⁸⁷ German Methodists established a separate community called New Fountain only a few miles to the west.

⁸⁸ For a complete history of the order, see Sr. Mary G. Callahan's (1955) *History of the Sisters of Divine Providence at San Antonio*.

⁸⁹ In her study of bilingualism in a Fredericksburg public and parochial high school, Moore (1975) investigates trends of language maintenance associated with religious affiliation and finds it a major

parochial schools in Medina County were highly ethnic in composition (Alsations and Hispanics), they did not directly further the ancestral language, although they were an important vehicle for instilling religious doctrine and moral values, which dictated social behavior, such as marriage, in other domains of community life.

Part of the Catholic doctrine which ensured a stable congregation of believers was the ban on marrying outside of the faith. The statistics of religious affiliation of this study's participants suggests that this was highly effective. The Catholic community evidently "allowed" intermarriage between Alsations and Texas Germans when religious boundaries were not breached. Hudson (1997: 68) provides a detailed list of Catholic marriages in D'Hanis from 1910-1940 which show no intermarriage between the Hispanic and Alsatian or Anglo communities, but intermarriage between the latter two. The following figure shows an excerpt from his findings (1920 and 1930 not included):

contributor in language maintenance, but is unable to determine in exactly what way this factor operates to effect linguistic maintenance.

Table 2.2: Marriages in D'Hanis 1910-1940

<i>Year</i>	<i>Church</i>	<i>Marriages</i>	<i>Number</i>
1910	Holy Cross	Mexican/Mexican	15
	Holy Cross	Alsatian/Anglo	3
	Holy Cross	Alsatian/Alsatian	3
1915	Holy Cross	Mexican/Mexican	2
	Holy Cross	Alsatian/Anglo	5
	Holy Cross	Alsatian/Alsatian	10
1925	Our Lady ⁹⁰	Mexican/Mexican	2
	Holy Cross	Alsatian/Anglo	1
	Holy Cross	Alsatian/Alsatian	4
1935	Our Lady	Mexican/Mexican	2
	Holy Cross	Alsatian/Anglo	0
	Holy Cross	Alsatian/Alsatian	2
1940	Our Lady	Mexican/Mexican	0
	Holy Cross	Alsatian/Anglo	2
	Holy Cross	Alsatian/Alsatian	5

The figures show a high occurrence of endogamous marriages (marriage within the group), which also reveals a strict separation between the Hispanic and Anglo or Alsatian communities. However, it also shows a fair amount of intermarriage between the Alsatian and Anglo groups, which affects transmission of the ancestral language.

Considering the strong religious affiliation of the present TxAls community with Catholicism, I focus on the role of Catholicism in religious and educational spheres. From the beginning, the Roman Catholic Church played a supportive role in structuring a spiritual community for the Alsatian immigrants. Its priests held mass, organized the building of churches, and tended to the needy. However, these gestures were not always acknowledged by the colonists. According to Castroville's first priest, Father Dubuis, not only did the colonists not speak his language, the French of Lyons, but they spoke an

⁹⁰ Today there is only one church, Holy Cross. A second church, Our Lady Queen of Peace, was established for Hispanic families in 1924, but burned down in 1953 and was not rebuilt (CCHA 1983: 87, Hudson 1997: 69).

“unqualifiable jargon” and “an indifference most complete reigned in the neighborhood of religion” (Waugh 1934: 47-8). The female counterparts to the priest, the Sisters of Divine Providence, were instrumental in establishing the first community schools while still carrying out their missionary work.

Given the Catholic religious tradition in the Alsace, it is not surprising that when Castro organized the first ships of emigrants, he also contracted Jean Marie Odin, the Catholic bishop of Texas in Houston, to consecrate the site for the colony’s Catholic church. In doing so, he set the pattern for what was to become the first European Catholic mission in Texas.⁹¹ Only one week after Castroville had been founded, Bishop Odin arrived to conduct a mass and dedicated the church cornerstone, placing the town under the patronage of St. Louis of France (CCHA 1983: 63).

Castroville became an important center for Catholicism in Texas which grew until the late 1860s. Three years after its founding, in November 1846, the town’s first St. Louis Catholic Church was completed and blessed by Bishop Odin, which served as Castroville’s first parochial school twenty-two years later and still stands within the Moye Center grounds. Bishop Odin was also successful in recruiting a French priest, Father Claude Dubuis, from the seminary in Lyons, France. Under the auspices of Father Dubuis, a second church was constructed four years later in 1850, and yet a third was completed in 1870. These three churches still define the silhouette of Castroville and its Alsatian community.

Perhaps Father Dubuis’ most significant contribution—not only to the community of Castroville, but also within the larger context of Texas—was achieved because of his commitment to proselytizing through learning and healing. Father Dubuis started a free

⁹¹ Catholic missions had already been established under the governance of Mexico and existed before the creation of the Republic of Texas, but these had been abandoned or were otherwise occupied when Texas became an independent republic.

school in the first years of the community which was the parent school of Castroville's parochial school (Waugh 1934: 48). Here he taught the Catechism and gave lessons in French, English, and German, writing of "sixty-six pupils, not twelve of whom spoke English" (Waugh 1934: 48). When Father Dubuis convinced the Sisters of Divine Providence at St. Jean-de-Bassel⁹² in the Alsace-Lorraine to send Sisters to Texas to open schools, he initiated the first system of parochial schools in the diocese of Texas.

Two sisters from the non-cloistered teaching order⁹³ accompanied him to Texas in 1866 as missionaries: Sister Superior St. Andrew Feltin⁹⁴ from Geipolsheim, *Bas-Rhin*, and Sister Marie Alphonse Boegler (later called Sister St. Claude) from Offendorf, *Bas-Rhin*. Mother St. Andrew established and staffed parochial schools which heavily influenced the course of parochial education still in existence today. The first school was established December 1866 by Sister St. Andrew in Austin, followed shortly by two other schools in Corpus Christi and Castroville in 1868.

In 1870, Texas enacted a law providing for a centralized system of education for all children between six and eighteen (CCHA 1983: 34). The Sisters were certified and also willing to teach in the public schools of Catholic communities. By 1872, the Sisters were teaching in D'Hanis (1870), another Castro colony, and Frelsburg (1870), Fredericksburg (1870), and New Braunfels (1871).⁹⁵ Later, Sisters were sent to neighboring Castroville communities such as the Haby Settlement (1874), Hondo (1893), Devine (1900), and La Coste (1913) (CCHA 1983: 35). Mother St. Andrew also established the well-known St. Joseph's school in San Antonio in 1875.

⁹² Formed from German-speaking novitiates, this congregation was bilingual and educated their postulants in both German and French in order to prepare them for teaching certification in Alsace-Lorraine.

⁹³ Information on Sisters of Divine Providence is taken from Callahan (1955), CCHA (1985), and Langford (2007).

⁹⁴ Further insights on the role of this Alsatian Sister in the parochial education of Texas can be found in Langford (2007) and Callahan (1955).

⁹⁵ Also Panna Maria, St. Hedwig and Danville. The Sisters of Divine Providence additionally opened ten schools in Louisiana (1887) and in Oklahoma (1907) (Callahan 1955).

Castroville's parochial school, St. Louis School, was finally closed in 1968 after 100 years of service to the community, but re-opened in 1986 after renewed interest in parochial education was demonstrated. Each year a new grade was added until the primary level was completed by the final addition of the fifth grade. Currently, St. Louis School remains a thriving parochial Pre-K – 5th elementary headed by Sister Louise from Holland of the Sisters of Divine Providence. No German language or history of Castroville is included in the course curriculum.

The religious community still plays a supportive role in the maintenance of its socio-historical importance and ethnic traditions (see Chapter Six). Many priests associated with St. Louis Parish took an active interest in preserving the Alsatian heritage and its traditions into the 20th and 21st century. Monsieur Lawrence Steubben was instrumental in effecting the first exchange between Castroville and the Alsace in 1975. The St. Louis Men's Society is one of the few organizations in which the Alsatian speakers I interviewed participate. The Feast of St. Louis in late August is perhaps the most important event celebrated by the Alsatian community and has become a means to celebrate and preserve the traditions of their Alsatian ancestors.⁹⁶ It has expanded beyond the original church celebration and is a well-attended community event, acting as a homecoming for those native Castroville inhabitants who now live elsewhere. In 2008, the 126th festival was attended by over 10,000 visitors.

⁹⁶ For instance, the men's St. Louis Society prepares "a heaping plate of Alsatian-style sausage and BBQ beef" (*Castroville News Bulletin*, 8/2008: 7). See Davis (1990) for other Alsatian celebrations in Medina County.

2.4 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXTS⁹⁷

In addition to settlement patterns which geographically isolated many German immigrant communities on the frontier's edge far from urban centers, local political configurations⁹⁸ and varying degrees of autonomy (Grenoble & Whaley 1998:2) insulated Castroville and allowed for a relatively undisturbed continuation of cultural practices. This was also the case for certain TxG communities in the western German Belt such as Fredericksburg in Gillespie County or Comfort in Kendall County. What distinguishes Castroville is the length of time the community sustained its protectionist efforts, given its proximity to San Antonio. The following sections document the community's resistance to political verticalization and economic opportunities into the 1980s, which supported the preservation of Alsatian language and culture.

2.4.1 Insulation

Medina County was created from Bexar County by an act of the Second Legislature of the State of Texas on February 12, 1848, at which time Castroville was also designated the county seat. Two years later, in 1850, Castroville was incorporated, recognizing it as a local governing body. The Castro settlements of Vandenberg, Quihi, and D'Hanis were also officially recognized. The first census of 1850 shows a population in Medina County totaling 909 persons consisting of 335 inhabitants in Castroville, 84 in D'Hanis, 67 in Quihi, and 62 in Vandenberg (CCHA 1983: 7).

Castroville's high political and economic status in the county was short-lived. Two inter-related events created an economic crisis and relegated it to relative obscurity:

⁹⁷ The information in this section is based on information taken from the *Medina County History* published by the CCHA (1983).

⁹⁸ For a description of the political controversy spanning almost thirty years between Castroville and Hondo over the location of the county seat, see CCHA (1983: 11).

the routing of the railroad and the loss of its county seat status. Castroville was bypassed by the Southern Pacific Railroad building westward from San Antonio in 1880 when the city council rejected the company's demand of a \$100,000 bonus for topological complications. Negotiations broke down and the company responded by routing its tracks five miles to the south (CCHA 1985: 65). Because of this decision, Castroville was cut off from any rail enterprise.⁹⁹ This alternate routing ultimately doomed Castroville's local wagon freight enterprises, which had prospered during the Civil War and reconstruction. Its accessibility was also adversely affected. In order to reach Castroville by rail, passengers had to travel to LaCoste and take a buggy up to Castroville. Due to this inaccessibility, the Sisters of the Divine Providence also made a decision to move the Motherhouse to Our Lady of the Lake to San Antonio in 1896.

There were also efforts as early as 1856 to move the county seat to a more central location in the county. However, these were initially unsuccessful, presumably for lack of an alternate site. Not until 1886 were the efforts to move resumed, this time with Hondo as the proposed site, a town which had been platted in 1881 by the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railroad as it moved eastward. Finally, on August 27, 1892, after a rather controversial public election, the county seat was moved to Hondo, further isolating Castroville by removing it as a potential influential political and economic hub.

Due largely to these developments, its economy and population expansion¹⁰⁰ came almost to a standstill by 1896 (CCHA 1983: 65). In 1897, Castroville citizens petitioned the state to revoke the 1850 incorporation, which was accepted, and the county

⁹⁹ Hudson (1997: 30) remarks that this event was "to Castroville's disadvantage in terms of growth, but, it may have helped to preserve the Alsatian heritage of Castroville."

¹⁰⁰ Old records of Valentine Haass show that Castroville had only 827 inhabitants (159 families) in 1896. Comparatively, the 2000 U.S. Census places the current population at only 2,664. Estimations for 2003 indicate a population of 2,839 (www.epodunk.com).

resumed its governance of the town. As the city historian Rihn (CCHA 1983: 65-69) notes:

Castroville passed from a city to the status of a sleepy little village, not unlike the European ones that the settlers had emigrated from some fifty years before . . . those who did remain in the area were the farmers and ranchers and the few merchants who supplied the town's needs. Since most of these were Alsatians, the isolated town retained the culture and dialect of their ancestors.

Ahr (2003: 139) also notes that this “disincorporation and a tendency among the descendants of the pioneers to be independent, self-sufficient, and, arguably, resistant to change, explain in part why the Alsatian culture lasted.” The fact that the community of Castroville was able to survive this economic downturn was due in no small part to the self-sufficiency and cohesion (tight social networks) of the Alsatian population and its values¹⁰¹ and traditions, supported by the practice of subsistence farming and agricultural knowledge which were instrumental in its initial success as a colony.

The next thirty years saw little political, economic, or structural change in the community, and the town's survival of the Great Depression was largely due to its self-sustenance (farming was the main industry). Rihn (CCHA 1985: 65) also notes of this period that “The culture of the early Alsatian settlers was retained both in daily and religious life. The dialect was still spoken.”

2.4.2 “Reawakening”

Two World Wars with Germany as the enemy did not pass unnoticed by the inhabitants of this “sleepy little village,” which effected the “Americanization” of the European immigrants (Rihn, CCHA 1985: 65) and had profound effects on language use

¹⁰¹ Current participants identify a definite set of work ethics and moral values in the Alsatian Questionnaire (AQ) (see Chapter Six). Jordan (2004: 192-203) also provides an interesting discussion of the importance of cultural heritage in his conclusion.

in public domains. In contrast to the Civil War, during which Medina County was able to sustain its anti-secessionist position and non-participation,¹⁰² many stepped forward to serve in the United States armed forces in WWI and WWII (CCHA 1983: 74).

A small series of improvements¹⁰³ around the beginning of the 1940s modernized Castroville's infrastructure. In 1938, the Texas Highway Department improved the east-west State Highway 3 and renamed it U.S. Highway 90 to accommodate increasing truck and automobile traffic. But most importantly, Castroville voted to re-incorporate into the County in 1947 after almost fifty years of unincorporated existence. During this first year of incorporation, a contest was held to determine a slogan for the city which epitomizes its Alsatian identity and has remained to the present. The entry "Little Alsace of Texas" was selected, which the French Alsatians still use to designate Castroville and its environs (*Le Petit Alsace* or *S'kla Elsass*).

Castroville remained insulated and virtually unnoticed except to truckers and infrequent travelers en route to Del Rio well into the 1970s. Instead of strengthening economic and political ties with its more progressive and urban neighbor, San Antonio, the Alsatian community chose to establish a cultural relationship with the land of its founders, the French Alsace. However, Castroville finally began to feel the pressure of progress and development from San Antonio in the 1980s from land developers and business ventures such as Sea World. The following words of a church leader during an interview with the *San Antonio Express and News* (July 2, 1989) illustrate the protectionist attitudes of native Castroville inhabitants:

¹⁰² Medina County was one of only a handful of counties (mainly the Hill Country counties and Uvalde) which voted against succession from the Union (CCHA 1983: 9).

¹⁰³ For a discussion of these additional improvements, see CCHA (1983: 66).

Castroville, beware of allowing yourself to die of progress! Years ago you refused to let the Southern Pacific Railroad bisect you. In the process you lost your status as county seat and everybody wrote you off as having cut your own throat. You refused to allow yourself to become just another growing West Texas town. Did you realize that you thereby also made yourself one of these United States' last remaining towns of truly unique character? Your stubborn refusal of "progress" was your salvation! Your folly was your wisdom. Are you going to survive this second onslaught of 'progress?'¹⁰⁴

The past ten years have seen the increasing urbanization of Castroville with its direct (four-lane divided Highway 90) and affordable (real estate) access for San Antonio commuters. The following section briefly examines Castroville's political and economic constellations and their connection to language shift.

2.4.3 Verticalization vs. horizontalization

Salmons (2005) investigates the role of regional and community structure in driving minority language shift in German-American Wisconsin communities within Warren's (1978) concepts of *verticalization* and *horizontalization*. He proposes that language shift is driven by changes in regional structure, or verticalization, a "shift of political, social, and economic control from the local or regional to the state or national level" (Salmons 2005: 129). Language is powerfully connected to these structures and the loss of minority languages connected to local cultures can be attributed to this shift to English, the language of state and national levels. Conversely, one can argue that self-governance and retention of local and regional control enables linguistic maintenance.

Castroville's pattern of economic and political decisions, in particular from 1850-

¹⁰⁴ This also provides an interesting example of the conservative attitudes present in city and church leadership at the time.

1950, illustrates the continuance of regional and local control which insulated cultural constructs. The loss of Castroville's political status as the county seat, the economic impact of bypass of the railroad, and the city's decision to un-incorporate exemplify horizontalization (local and regional control), which supported the maintenance of Alsatian. In addition, economically self-sufficient farmers maintained the AL in domains of home, family, and friends, even though official domains necessitated English. However, control of educational institutions, both parochial and public (Medina Independent School District), although remaining local, were necessarily dictated by state and national English-only laws, which banned Alsatian from official domains. These English-only laws were strictly enforced, but did not by themselves affect the use of Alsatian in private domains. The shift to English was facilitated by individual decisions within the community driven by dispositions of shame and linguistic stigmatization of the ancestral language. Another example of this horizontalization is the city partnership with Eguisheim and Ensisheim in the French Alsace. The Alsatian community of Castroville initiated a connection with a local community in the region of their cultural ancestors and in so doing, opened an avenue which revitalized and strengthened perceptions of their ethnic heritage.

Political, economic, and social organizational structures are vessels for implementing national ideologies. Ultimately, this is linked to the dominant group's economic and political power and number. I would argue that it is the dominant group's attitudes underpinning national and state structures which eventually force minority group compliance that drive language shift.

Thus far, this chapter has described certain socio-historical, political, and economic variables particular to the Alsatian-speaking community in Castroville.

Linguistic developments of diglossia and shift influenced by these constellations will be identified and discussed in the following section.

2.5 LANGUAGE SHIFT AND DIGLOSSIA: ENGLISH /ALSATIAN

In the following sections, I first establish the almost exclusive use of English in public domains and Alsatian in private domains before comparing it with the general diglossia which prevailed in other German-speaking communities. Observing language interaction in certain settings called *domains* was first introduced by Fishman (1964, 1965). Domains are abstract constructs which represent different contexts of interaction such as “family,” “work,” “religion,” “education,” and “friendship,” and are useful in analyzing factors which influence language alternation (Winford 2003: 110-11). Fishman (1967) redefined Ferguson’s (1959) concept of diglossia by adapting it to situations of language contact, where instead of two different forms of one language, i.e. a High and Low variety,¹⁰⁵ being used in separate domains, two separate languages performed the function of “High” and “Low.” Characteristic of this broader diglossia in language contact situations is a delegation of the ancestral language to restricted domains of use, usually to informal and private contexts of family, friends, and neighbors. In TxG varieties, for example, the “High” form is English which is used in public domains, whereas the “Low” form is the native German dialect used mainly in private domains.

2.5.1 Diglossia: English /Alsatian

Unlike the use of German in neighboring homogenous TxG communities, there was no documentation of the use of Alsatian in formal public domains of government,

¹⁰⁵ See Barbour & Stevenson (1998) for a discussion of diglossia in German-speaking areas.

education, religion, and media from settlement time forward, although Alsatian was certainly used to some extent in these domains. Given the presence of Germans from more northern provinces, one would expect to find some Castroville records in German, such as those in Quihi, for example. The absence of such records in Castroville in either language points to the dominant use of English in formal domains of church, education, and government early in its settlement. This was most likely also a practical decision, given the plurality of languages among the first groups of colonists. The small, insulated community of Alsatian speakers had little power of assimilation compared with the near-Standard German communities who maintained monolingualism in such settlements as Fredericksburg or New Braunfels (Salmons 1983, Boas 2009a).

The acceptance of Texas into statehood only a year after Castroville's settlement in 1845 essentially mandated the use of English in official domains. Medina County was created on February 12, 1848, only four years after the initial settlement of Castroville, and the first county election took place on July 12 (CCHA 1983: 5). The minutes of the first meeting were recorded in English. A sample of the highest elected officials show varied linguistic origins of a group dominated by German dialect speakers. The cultural separation between the Hispanic and Anglo communities previously noted¹⁰⁶ seems to be further substantiated by the absence of Hispanic officials.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Waugh (1934) suggested that each of the three main ethnic groups remained socially separate: the German-speaking group, the Spanish-speaking group, and the English-speaking group.

¹⁰⁷ In the Santos family history (CCHA 1983: 485), it is noted that Henry Santos from D'Hanis was the first Hispanic ever elected as a County Commissioner (in 1981).

Table 2.3: Elected officials of July 12, 1848 (CCHA: 1985)

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Origin</i>
Chief Justice	John Hoffmann	Hilbringen, Prussia
County Commissioner	Joseph Bader	Wittelsheim, Alsace
County Commissioner	John Lamon	Baden
County Commissioner	Simon Bourgeois,	Romans, France ¹⁰⁸
County Clerk	Charles de Montel	Koenigsburg, Germany ¹⁰⁹
Tax Assessor & collector	Louis Huth	Neufreystadt, Baden
Justice of the Peace	John Lamon	Baden
Sheriff	George Louis Haass	Bad Duerkheim, Rheinland- Palatinate

There is also no evidence that the Castroville schools, both parochial and public, were conducted in any language but English after 1870. During the first years of settlement, Father Dubuis created a school which approximately seventy students attended and gave Catechism lessons as well as language instruction in French, German, and English.¹¹⁰ As already noted, he could not understand the Alsatian colonists, calling their language an “unqualifiable jargon” (Waugh 1934: 48). The US Census of 1860 reports one elementary school with 44 pupils and one teacher. There were also five common schools with one teacher and 24, 17, 7, 25, and 24 pupils respectively. German was taught as a subject in some of the outlying “settlement” schools, depending upon the demographics of the community. Father Dubuis was insistent that the Sisters of Divine

¹⁰⁸ Bourgeois resigned after only a few meetings.

¹⁰⁹ By profession an engineer, de Montel first immigrated to Pennsylvania before coming to Texas; he also attended the Sorbonne in Paris.

¹¹⁰ There were also a few months in 1846 where lessons were given in German, English, and French, when the Catholic priests asked Castro for help in establishing a school for the community. Castro proposed a school separate from the church and hired a *Lutheran* teacher fluent in German, English, and French. This caused a “tremendous furor within the colony” and the priests resumed control of the educational activities in Castroville (Weaver 1985: 102).

Providence learn the language¹¹¹ of their adopted country, so that they might effectively perform their missionary work and proselytize. The public free schools were also staffed by the Sisters of the Divine Providence.

Church records and private journals from the first priests and Castro were written in French (e.g., Castro 1839-1846, Abbé Domenech 1858, etc.). Traditionally, the liturgical portion of the mass in the Roman Catholic Church was conducted in Latin and the sermons in the “dominant” language. There is the probability that sermons were also delivered in German or Alsatian, as there were priests from Germany, Alsace, and France, but further research is necessary to determine if this was so. Some participants mention a booklet with hymns in German around the turn of the century. It is unknown whether Spanish-speaking Catholics in Castroville worshipped separately and to what degree the separation was maintained.

The 1860 Census report states that there were no newspapers in Medina County in 1860, nor do Arndt and Olson (1961: 60) list any German-American newspapers or periodicals in Castroville for the period 1732-1955—with the exception of one “Lost German Paper” published by Ed. Meyer in May 1915.

2.5.2 Diglossia and language shift in other TxG dialects

In situations of language (and dialect) contact, the shift from a less prestigious language to a more dominant one exhibits stages which can generally be applied to most contact situations. Batibo (1992: 90-2) defines five stages in East African speech communities undergoing language shift and death of the ancestral language (AL) in

¹¹¹ Langford (2007) describes English lessons already being given to the Sisters by Father Dubuis on the voyage over. The Sisters always returned to the Mother House for professional development during the summer months, taking courses in English, vocal and instrumental music, bookkeeping, etc.

purely linguistic terms:¹¹² (1) monolingualism in the AL, (2) growing bilingualism with the AL dominant, (3) bilingualism with adoption of L2 as the primary language, (4) limited knowledge and production of the AL, and (5) replacement of AL by L2. Stages (2) and (3) are characterized by varying degrees of diglossia (in the broader sense of Fishman 1967). None of these stages is discrete, as speakers shift to the L2 to various degrees at different rates (Winford 2003: 258). The second and third stages described by Batibo (1992) are the crucial stages where the path toward partial or full assimilation is determined. Trying to establish the extent of bilingualism with diglossia, i.e., language alternation of a high and low variety and its use in certain domains, over one hundred and fifty years ago is virtually impossible without written documents such as newspapers and official records. For Alsatian, it is extremely difficult to assess, given that Alsatian is essentially a spoken language. Furthermore, the Alsatian immigrants would have had no instruction in written forms of German at the time of emigration, as the Alsace was under the governance of France and in the process of “Frenchification” (see §1.3.1). In fact, very few of the rural areas from which the immigrants originated had formal schooling opportunities.

There is a tendency to assume certain similarities between developments within other German-speaking communities in the western settlements. Salmons (1983: 188)¹¹³ describes a progression of language shift to English for the TxG community in Gillespie County to the north of Medina County, based on previous TxG research and original fieldwork, with some anecdotal evidence. Table 2.4 shows an excerpt from Salmon’s (1983: 188) *Table 1* illustrating his domain analysis of Gillespie County based on Fishman’s (1964) taxonomy:

¹¹² Mattheier (2003) defines these in terms of phases/processes (see §2.1).

¹¹³ Salmons (1983: 191) also refers to a prolonged “resistance” to dialect-leveling and shift of the Alsatian community as compared with TxG dialects.

Table 2.4: TxG language shift in Gillespie County¹¹⁴

<i>Time</i>	<i>Pre-1900</i>	<i>Pre-1917</i>	<i>Pre-1941</i>	<i>Present (1980)</i>
<i>Stage</i>	general bilingualism w/o diglossia	bilingualism with diglossia (Eng. = High)	situation becomes unstable	little diglossia ¹¹⁵
<i>Domain: home, family</i>	German, some monolinguals	fewer monolinguals	some switch to English	German in some homes; some learn from grandparents

Boas (2009a: 46) describes TxG diglossia in New Braunfels, Comal County, as an overlapping and progressive layering of languages and dialects. In the early stages of diglossia, he suggests that most speakers only possessed a passive (P) knowledge of written Standard German (SG),¹¹⁶ and spoke different varieties still influenced by their regional dialects.¹¹⁷ Only the more educated immigrants such as doctors, teachers, and clergy had an active (A) command of written SG. Boas' (2009a: 43) model in Figure 2.1 is helpful in that it shows the interaction of both active and passive command of the languages as well as the existence of different dialects, whether related or not.

¹¹⁴ Other domains not shown: friends/neighbors, business, work, school, official, written, and religion.

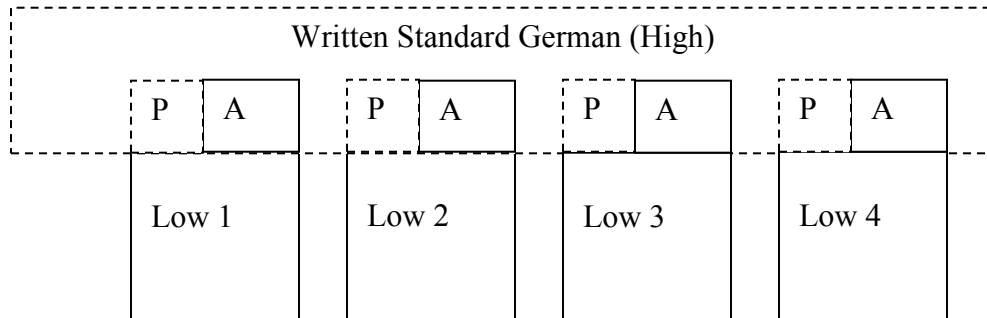
¹¹⁵ Salmons (1983:190) describes this as those who have "command of TxG but do not use it systematically."

¹¹⁶ The spoken standard, although in existence in a written form by the end of the 17th century, is thought not to have been accepted as such throughout Germany until the end of the 19th-beginning of the 20th century (Elspass 2002).

¹¹⁷ These regional dialects from the northern and central German provinces were close to written SG.

Figure 2.1: Diglossia in Early New Braunfels

(Boas 2009a: 43, Figure 2.3)

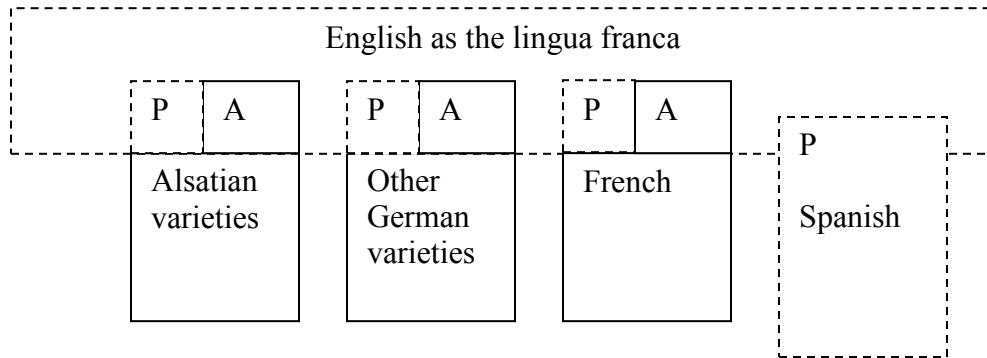


Boas (2009a: 54) further describes the development between 1850 and 1890 as a double-overlapping diglossia of English (high) and written SG (low) on one level and written SG (high) and different immigrant dialects (low). By 1920, English had replaced SG as the High variety, but the dialectal varieties remained the Low variety spoken in informal private domains of home, friends, and neighbors.

In contrast, written SG seems to have not played any significant supportive role in the Castroville community. Because of the linguistic diversity present from the beginning of Medina County's settlement and the use of English in official contexts, education, and commerce, I suggest that a stable diglossic situation was established earlier (perhaps as early as 1860)¹¹⁸ with English used in official, formal domains and the various dialects/languages used in more informal, private domains. According to Boas' (2009a) model, the diglossic situation in Castroville would appear as follows:

¹¹⁸ This includes the assimilation of additional immigrants in the 1850s.

Figure 2.2: Diglossia in Early Castroville



English was not necessarily considered more prestigious and therefore “high,” but served an instrumental purpose. For example, the “proximity”¹¹⁹ of San Antonio as a supply source for merchandising businesses¹²⁰ and the important freight wagon business which ran from there to Del Rio through Castroville (CCHA 1983: 65) necessitated a working knowledge of English as the “lingua franca.”¹²¹ The geographic isolation of farm tracts¹²² and linguistic separateness of each ethnic group reinforced the use of the ancestral language in informal domains (family, friends, neighbors). The Spanish-speaking ethnic group, as previously mentioned, remained separate from the European

¹¹⁹ In this time period, this involved a good day’s travel by wagon.

¹²⁰ One speaker tells of his first experience helping his father pick up barrels of beer from the San Antonio brewery for the local restaurants.

¹²¹ Boas (2009a: 38) mentions that after Texas gained independence from Mexico, English became the trade and administrative language.

¹²² This is further evidenced by the establishment of family “settlements” on the outlying large-acre tracts which are recorded under the names of “Haby Settlement,” “Bader Settlement,” “French Settlement,” etc. (CCHA 1985: 60, 96-97).

ethnic groups. On the anecdotal level, participants reported knowing Spanish (and their parents as well) in order to communicate with Spanish-speaking farmhands.¹²³

Approximately around the turn of the century and supported by national and state legislative and educational policy, English increasingly took on more than just a communicative function in the Alsatian community. With the advent of WWI, the balance in status between English and German dialects tipped in favor of English as in other German-speaking communities, with English the more prestigious high variety and German dialects the less prestigious low variety (Boas 2009a: 60-1).

2.5.3 Real and apparent-time analysis of 2009 participants

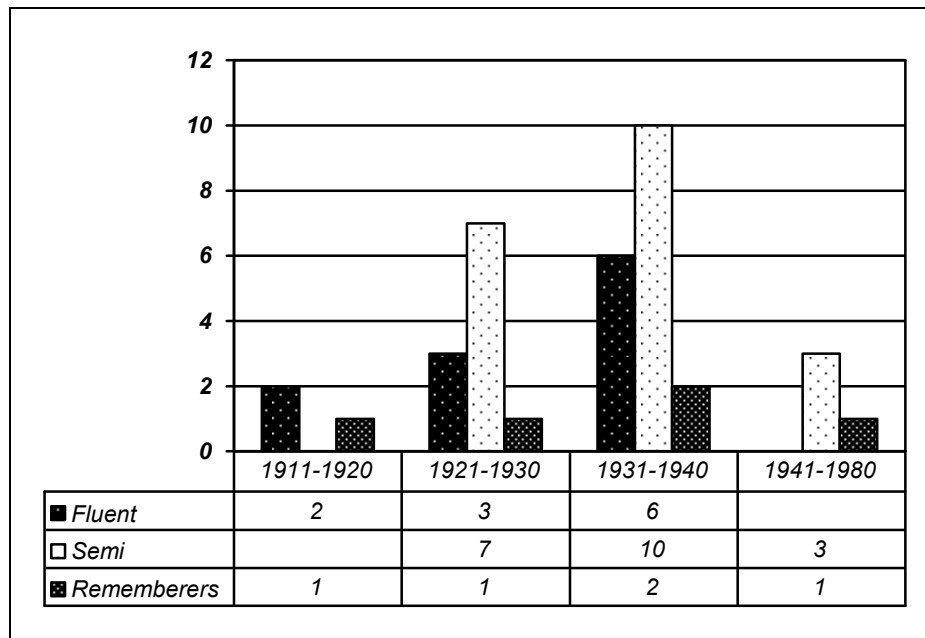
It is important to situate the linguistic profiles of the participants within a time frame to view the progression of language shift within the 20th century as a result of socio-historical events. My current data allows for a both real and apparent-time analysis (Trask 2000, Wardhaugh 2006) of participants' diglossia and shift to English. Real-time analysis is accomplished by comparing Gilbert's 1960s data with present data. Apparent-time analysis is supported by questionnaire questions which asked each participant to evaluate language use in different stages of his life, i.e., childhood, young adulthood, and the present. Furthermore, age-grading the participants, although not useful in predicting fluency, reveals interesting patterns related to AL acquisition and transmission.

Reviewing Figure 1.3 in Chapter One, it was established that the birthdates of the majority of TxAls speakers range from 1913 – 1940. In the following charts, time periods are again divided into decades which span pre-WWI to post-WWII. Due to the scarcity of Alsatian-speaking participants after 1940 (in itself proof in the break in

¹²³ The European groups most likely did not consider these farmhands their equals economically or socially.

transmission), a larger time category was created. To introduce a general picture begin of language shift to English, speaker fluency is placed in direct relation to birth year in the following figure:

Figure 2.3: Language shift



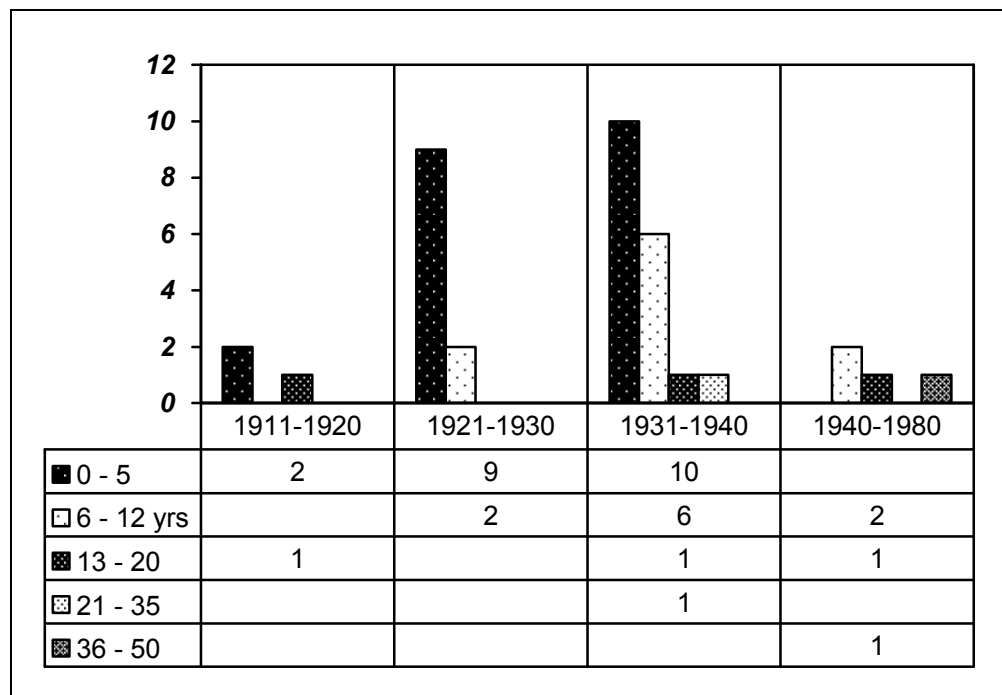
Examining the two largest groups of speakers (non-speakers were not included), which coincide with the two eras spanning the World Wars, semi-speakers constitute more than half of the participants (1921-1930, 64%; 1931-1940, 56%),¹²⁴ while fluent speakers constitute 27% and 33%, respectively. Also to be considered here is the previously-mentioned factor of age and mental acuity of the participants in the first three groups. Despite this factor and the small speaker sample, the numbers are indicative of a language shift in progress (Grinewald 2001) during the inter-war period. The number of

¹²⁴ Unfortunately, it was not possible to procure a similar size speaker sample from earlier periods due to the limiting factor of longevity (ages 88-97; 78-89). One speaker (weak semi-speaker) born in 1979 also represents a participant who speaks with his grandparents and is highly motivated to transmit the language to his children. The participant born in 1940 called himself “the youngest fluent speaker of Alsatian.”

fluent speakers in the 1930s is also an indication that despite anti-German sentiments generated by WWI, Alsatian was still being spoken in informal domains until the U.S. entrance into WWII and consequently, transmitted to some degree. The sharp drop-off in fluent or semi-speakers born after 1940 indicates an abrupt break in transmission.

To corroborate this, examining the participants' age of acquisition of the AL should reveal that transmission in the home was still taking place during the inter-World War period (~1920-1940). Question #3 on the Alsatian Questionnaire inquired about the age participants learned Alsatian and provided six response categories: 0-5, 6-12, 13-20, 21-35, 36-50, and 50+. Figure 2.4 tabulates the responses of the thirty-six speakers for each category according to birth year:

Figure 2.4: "When did you learn Alsatian?"



As mentioned in the introductory participant profiles, the three speakers born from 1911-1920 represent three very different linguistic situations at home. One fluent

speaker reports that only Alsatian was spoken in the home and he learned English when he entered the first grade. The other fluent speaker is Irish and spoke only English as a child, learning Alsatian at age sixteen when she met and married her Alsatian spouse. The third speaker, a rememberer, grew up in a home where the father spoke Alsatian and the mother German. Most of her responses were in TxG, although she claimed she was speaking Alsatian. She also learned English in school and from her older sister.

The remaining columns show that the AL was still being transmitted at home (acquisition 0–5 years) during the inter-World-War period (1921-1940) until the beginning of WWII, when transmission completely halted. Many strong semi-speakers noted that they first “learned” the language between 6–12 years even though their parents spoke it at home.¹²⁵ This infers that the school environment might have been instrumental in bringing Alsatian peers together, which motivated these individuals to learn the AL for communicating with the in-group. Four of these participants reported that they used Alsatian during sports, so that opponents could not understand them.¹²⁶ Those who learned Alsatian after age thirteen mainly represent participants who were motivated by a spouse or grandparents who spoke Alsatian.

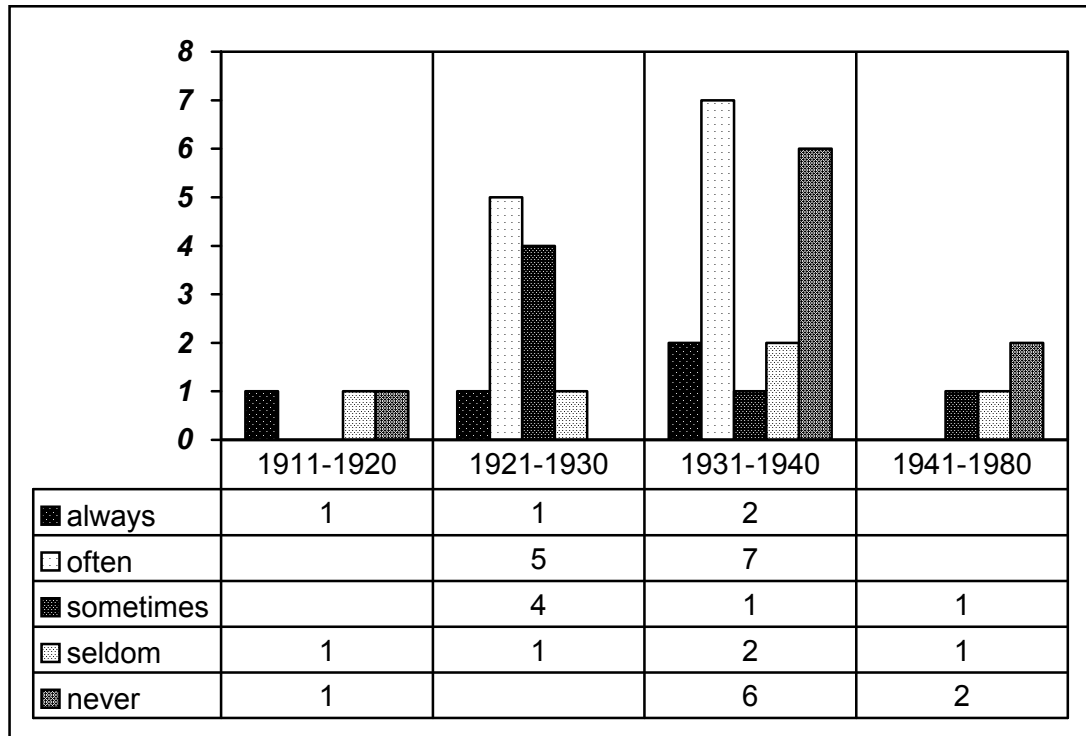
I have established that the AL was transmitted to some degree to the next generation of speakers until approximately 1940. Questions 7-9 on the Alsatian Questionnaire (hereafter AQ) inquired into the use of the AL in different domains and with what frequency during different stages in their lives: as a child (~ 6-12), as a young adult (~ 16-28), and “now.” The responses to the current use of TxAls were presented in

¹²⁵ This is perhaps their first conscious memory of speaking the language, although it is evident that they must have heard the language spoken at home.

¹²⁶ For example, Bourhis et al. (1979) investigated code-switching among tri-lingual Flemish (Flemish-French-English) students and their reactions to neutral and “ethnically-threatening” encounters with French out-group speakers (Walloons). About one half responded to “ethnically-threatening” questions by switching to their in-group language, Flemish. This study demonstrates how speech maintenance is often a deliberate act of maintaining group identity (Winford 2001: 122).

Figures 1.5-1.7. The following analysis represents the four speaker groups (birth year) and their responses regarding their use of Alsatian as a child.

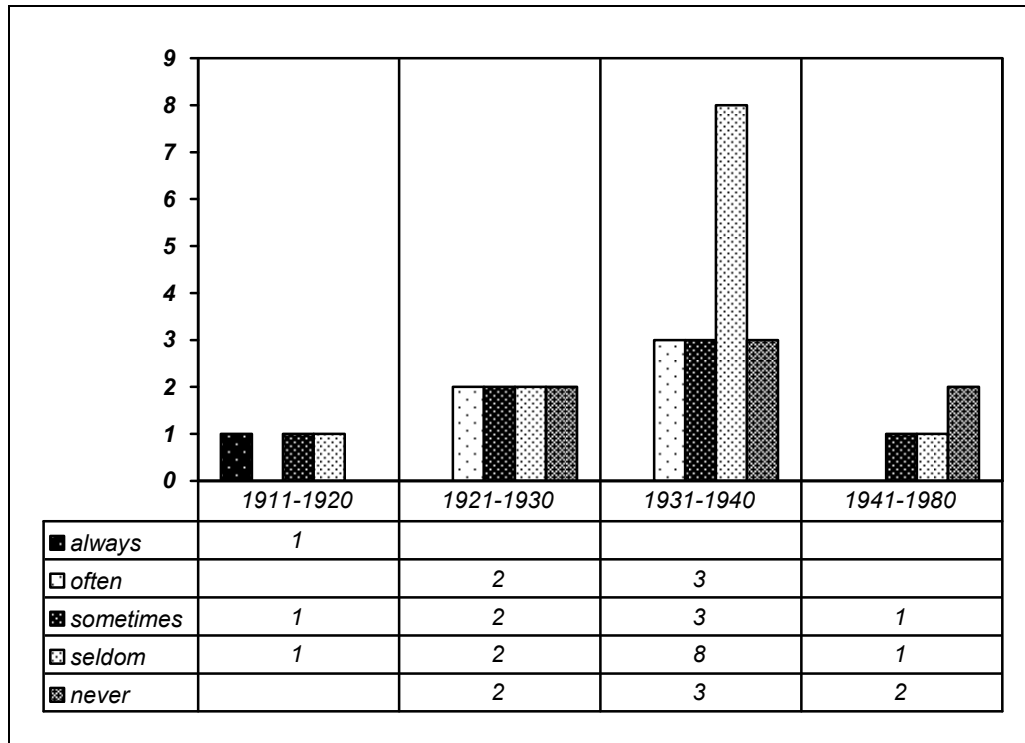
Figure 2.5: Use of Alsatian as a child



Comparing the two middle columns provides a fairly clear picture of language shift from Alsatian to English. For 1921-1930, the responses are fairly evenly split between “always/often” (55%) and “sometimes/seldom” (45%). For 1931-1940, the group is split into almost equal parts of “always/often” (50%) and “seldom/never” (44%). The “never” column which was not represented in the following decade indicates a break in transmission during the 1930s in the home domain. Six speakers (33%) born after 1940 never spoke Alsatian as a child and two (11%) seldom spoke it.

To complete a comparison of apparent-time data, participants were also asked how often they used Alsatian as a young adult (~16-28):

Figure 2.6: Use of Alsatian as a young adult



The first group (1911-1920) remains constant with the results given for “as a child,” but progressive decades show a definite decline in the overall use of Alsatian. Looking at the results for “seldom/never,” 50% born 1921-1930 rarely spoke it as a young adult, 65% born 1931-1940, and 75% born 1941-1980. Again, the simple fact that there are no TxAls speakers born after 1980 adequately substantiates the current endangered status of TxAls.

I have depicted the onset of language shift in the 1920s which reached a critical point at the end of the 1940s and coincided with the beginning of WWI and the end of WWII. These two decades illustrate a downward trend in the use of Alsatian, indicating a loss of prestige and value. There are no fluent speakers today born after 1940, which

indicates a final break in transmission of the ancestral language. An evaluation of the decline in the use of TxAls is connected to some of the socio-historical, political, and economic developments previously described within the concept of Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor's (1977) "group vitality."

2.6 GROUP VITALITY: LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE, SHIFT, DEATH

A relatively vital Alsatian cultural presence in Castroville despite drastically reduced numbers has been described in the preceding sections. This section examines the degree of "group vitality" (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor 1977) and discusses its role in language maintenance and shift. Giles et al. (1977: 308) define the vitality of an ethno-linguistic group as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the inter-group setting" and propose a model to systemize the many operating variables in inter-group settings crucial to understanding the course a particular ethno-linguistic group may take. Giles et al. (1977) identify three structural variables which allow such a group to survive: (1) status (economic, social, socio-historical, language), (2) demography (distribution, numbers), and (3) institutional support (media, education, government, industry, religion, culture). Viewing the TxAls community from this typological perspective, several observations linking language use with socio-historical, political, and economic factors can be made. Giles et al. (1977: 309) note, too, that the vitality of a linguistic minority seems to be directly linked to the degree its language is used. The following summary therefore necessarily includes linguistic assessment:

1. Status: The socio-historical status of the Alsatian group as Castroville's founders played an important role in establishing an influential political

presence¹²⁷ in city government, although not always effective, which was directly related to the status of TxAls. This was adversely affected by a loss of socio-economic and political power when the county seat was moved to Hondo and the railroad bypassed Castroville. The linguistic status of TxAls, however, was reinforced by the resulting insularity, but severely damaged by socio-historical events (WWI, WWII), which disrupted its transmission. Consequently, it is only spoken with any fluency by individuals above the age of sixty. Today, any status the Alsatian ethnicity retains is mainly associated with its historical precedence.

2. Demography: The distribution of Alsatian immigrants in Castroville, D'Hanis, (and later LaCoste), was dense in the main settlement and stabilization periods (spanning ~1840-1920). However, the number and density of the Alsatian ethnic group was significantly diminished thereafter due to the exodus of those who left for economic (work opportunities) and/or personal reasons (marriage), exacerbated by the influx of Hispanic groups (migration). The Alsatian ethnicity constitutes only 2% of the total ancestry groups in Medina County (refer to Table 1.7). Only approximately 20% of this 2% speak Alsatian. This negatively affects the scope of opportunities to use the ancestral language. Together with an aging population of speakers, this places TxAls on the list of endangered languages.

3. Institutional support: Strong private institutional support was initially provided via an active Catholic infrastructure of parishes and parochial schools which offered activities that brought the Alsatian community together. The current parochial elementary school includes no history unit on the founding of

¹²⁷ There has been a strong representation of Alsatian mayors (two of which I interviewed) and council members in the city council until only recently.

Castroville and its Alsatian heritage. Additionally, in view of the large Hispanic membership of St. Louis Church, the emphasis is on inclusive activities which further proselytism. Many (55%) current TxAls speakers do not identify the church as having any role in maintaining the Alsatian identity (AQ #22).

Nor is there public support for the county's Alsatian heritage or language in schools. English-only laws enacted ca. 1918 and onward sufficiently banned use of Alsatian or German in the classroom. Any public institutional support (financial or otherwise) exists solely in congratulatory (only limited funding) acknowledgements of the preservation of historical architectural structures (Texas Historical Commission). Only private support exists in the form of the local Chamber of Commerce, the Castro Colonies Heritage Association, and initiatives by private individuals. None of these institutions or organization actively engage in preserving the Alsatian language.

It is evident that the favorable conditions existing in the 19th century which elevated the status and supported the practical value of the Alsatian language quickly eroded during the course of the 20th century due largely to historical events which resulted in attitudinal shifts (Boas 2009a). Any remaining support of the heritage and language appears to be solely in the hands of individual and small group initiative(s) (families, cultural groups) from within the Alsatian ethnic group.

2.7 SUMMARY

I first established Castroville's strong ethnic beginnings as an *Alsatian settlement* and its development into a viable frontier community (1840-1880) with a description of Henry Castro's settlement efforts, the establishment of churches, parochial and public

schools, and its designation as the county seat. I further identified and substantiated the region of origin as the Upper Rhine Department in the Alsace, important to the discussion of language maintenance in pinpointing phonological and morphosyntactic features of the donor dialect.

Castroville's retreat into socio-economic and political *isolation* was exemplified by the bypass of the railroad and move of the county seat to Hondo, un-incorporation from Medina County, and the move of the "motherhouse" of the Catholic teaching order, the Sisters of Divine Providence, to San Antonio. However, this political isolation, aided by geographic isolation, economic self-sufficiency, a small population, and tight social networks, strengthened ethnic ties important to the maintenance of the AL.

The awakening and *modernization* of Castroville and subsequent reestablishment of ties to the "outside world" was signaled by reincorporation, creation of a slogan to market its uniqueness, improvement of its major transportation route to San Antonio and Del Rio, and its discovery by San Antonio land developers and entrepreneurs, which ultimately worked against the maintenance of TxAls and contributed to its decline. Even though the period after 1970 has been marked by the initiation of two city partnerships with the French Alsace, formation of cultural interest clubs, and historical preservation initiatives, such as those initiated by the Castro Colonies Heritage Organization, this has effected relatively little in relation to the AL. The emphasis of these organizations has been on historical and cultural aspects other than language, and has excluded any efforts to revitalize TxAls.

Within the back-drop of these extra-linguistic variables in Castroville, I established certain trends in language shift indicating the *decline* and endangerment of the TxAls dialect and identified similarities and dissimilarities with studies on

surrounding TxG communities. Having described the broader socio-historical setting of TxAls, the next three chapters will focus on the linguistic features of the dialect.

CHAPTER THREE: THE LEXICON OF TEXAS ALSATIAN

*Dalla Werdr sin ànderscht, will da Werder sin nitt g'sei,
wu d'Lit dorüwer kumma sin, nitt g'sei, will mir heisse a
cara a cara, un dett heissa sie a Wàga, [you know]? Un
Lufschiff...un, ja, alle so Dinges, [what] sie sin nitt g'sei.
In àchtzehvierunvierzik sin kà Lufschiff g'sei, kà Autos un
so ebbis.¹²⁸*

-- #240, February 2008

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses lexical items of Texas Alsatian which differentiate it from Standard German and other Texas German dialects. Identifying these items is important to establishing whether these lexical features which differ from other Texas German dialects are developments related to language contact or constitute an example of maintenance of the Alsatian donor dialect. Furthermore, the investigation of language contact phenomena such as borrowing, code-switching, and convergence which can affect the lexical inventory also aid in identifying developments in the New World dialect and provide a better understanding of what constitutes the Texas Alsatian dialect as a linguistic entity as spoken in the 21st century.

As a prelude to structural discussions in following chapters, I first present a sampling of distinctive lexical items found in TxAls from the *Ellsasser Wordbuch* (Tschirhart 1981) and the Upper Rhine Alsatian (URA) dictionary,¹²⁹ *D'Lehrschtuwa*

¹²⁸ 'Their words are different, because those words didn't exist when the people (Alsations) came over, didn't exist, because we call a car a *carra* and there they call it a *Wagen*, you know? And airplane . . . yes, and all those things that didn't exist. In 1844 there weren't any airplanes, no cars and other things like that.'

¹²⁹ In the previous chapter, it was noted that over 90% of the colonists came from the Upper Rhine Department. Therefore, the lexical items given in the following examples are not only ALS, but more specifically, what will be referred to as "Upper Rhine Alsatian" (URA).

(Nisslé 2008), which simultaneously provides an introduction to the URA/TxAls phonological features examined in Chapter Four. SG lexical items are used as an index for comparison. In addition, data from Gilbert (1972) on Medina and Gillespie counties is compared with my 2009 data for a diachronic look at the retention of these items in TxAls. This is followed by a discussion of borrowing and code-switching on several levels between the main contact language, English, and TxAls. I investigate language alternation which occurred during interview sessions, i.e. established loanwords versus nonce borrowings¹³⁰ (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988, Myers-Scotton 2006), the structural extent of borrowing using scales proposed by Muysken (1981) and Thomason (2001), and possible linguistic and social factors motivating borrowing (Gumperz 1982, Appel & Muysken 1987, Myers-Scotton 1993a, Winford 2003). Lexical innovations and convergence at different levels are also examined typologically based upon Haugen's (1953) classification of language contact phenomena and Clyne's (2003) concept of transference. I conclude with a discussion of code-switching in TxAls (Appel & Muysken 1987, Muysken 2000, Clyne 2003, Myers-Scotton 1993a).

3.2 DISTINGUISHING TXALS LEXICALLY

There are readily-apparent lexical differences between Alsatian and SG, which are reflected in TxAls and TxG, respectively. For example, TxAls speakers use *luega* ('to look') versus SG/TxG *sehen* or *gucken*, and *käija* ('to fall') (Nisslé 2008) versus SG/TxG *fallen*. Although the main features contributing to the difference and thus degree of comprehensibility between TxAls and TxG are phonological, certain lexical items also affect comprehensibility. A unique opportunity to study differences between

¹³⁰ These are usually "single occurrences of an item and may be integrated only momentarily" (Romaine 1995: 62).

TxAls and TxG lexical (and phonological) features is provided not only by Gilbert's (1972) data, but also by a locally-compiled Alsatian dictionary, the *Ellsasser Wordbuch*, finished in 1981, just five years after the initiation of the first Alsace-Castroville exchange.¹³¹

Gilbert's (1972) data furnishes a real-time perspective of the previous generation of Texas Alsatian (TxAls) speakers born 1879-1920¹³² to compare with current data and thus provides a diachronic perspective. Gilbert polled twenty-seven participants in Medina County, for thirteen of which he noted Alsatian ancestry or some competency in the language.¹³³ Eight of these participants consistently produce distinctive Alsatian characteristics (#s 9, 19-21, 23-25, 27), illustrated in Example (3.1), indicating fluency in the ancestral language (AL). Further substantiation will be provided in the course of discussions on phonological and morphological maintenance in the following chapters. Gilbert (1972: 17-18) additionally notes "intermarriage" between German-speaking and Alsatian-speaking parents or grandparents for five of these participants (#s 4, 7, 8, 12, 18), who mention more than one dialect spoken at home, i.e., "Elsass" (TxAls), High German (HG), or Low German (LG). Gilbert (1972) also identifies three strong LG speakers (#s 2, 16, and 22).¹³⁴ The thirteen Alsatian participants' numbers are shown in **boldface** type in the following tables to facilitate recognition of Alsatian (ALS) features or to highlight speaker variation and dialect-mixing.

¹³¹ A certain influence from the renewed contact with the Alsace should also be taken into account when viewing the dictionary, as there was some consultation between the authors and their new French Alsatian acquaintances.

¹³² Three participants in this study born in 1913, 1914, and 1917 coincide with the tail-end of this birth-year span of the Gilbert participants.

¹³³ For example, Gilbert (1972: 17) notes the following for participant #4: "inf.'s parents spoke both HG and Alsatian dialect at home; 'my sisters spoke HG, my brothers and me spoke Elsass'."

¹³⁴ Their responses occasionally coincide with Alsatian speakers and point to interesting similarities between the two dialects.

An example of the extent to which Gilbert’s phonological and morphosyntactic data also reveals information on lexical items is shown by his IPA transcription of the phrase which targeted weak verb forms, “Look how that tree is falling down.” Gilbert’s (1972) Map 81 shows the complete phrases produced by Medina County informant #s 9, 19-21, 23-25, and 27 in IPA.¹³⁵ These reveal several distinctive ALS lexical items, such as the verbs mentioned above, *lüega* (‘to look’) and *käija* (‘to fall’), and the ALS demonstrative article *sall*, SG *der* (‘that’) (cf. Figure 5.8, 5.9):

(3.1) ALS lexical items *lüega* and *käija* in Gilbert (1972) Map 81

Gilbert: “Look how that tree is falling down!”

SG: *Sieh, wie der Baum umfällt!*

ALS: *Lüeg, wie salle(r) Boim ðwakäiht.*

- a. MED 9:¹³⁶ [lyəkə mɔl vi: salə boim ke:t.]
- b. MED 19: [siʃə mɔl vi:ʃ səla boimə o:vəʃke:t.]
- c. MED 20: [se:ʃt dy: vi: də boim ke:t.]
- d. MED 21: [lukə mɔl vi: salə boim ke:t.]¹³⁷
- e. MED 23: [lyəkə mɔl--sal boim, kæ:'tu:m.]
- f. MED 24: [lyk via sələ boim o:vəke:t iʃ.]
- g. MED 25: [lyik aimɔl vi: sələ boim umke:t.]
- h. MED 27: [lyək wi: sələ boim saməke:t.]

¹³⁵ Fortunately, examples shown in (3.1) were transcribed by fieldworkers in their entirety due to lexical or syntactic variation.

¹³⁶ These eight speakers in eastern Medina County consistently produce Alsatian lexical, phonological, and grammatical features.

¹³⁷ MED 21 also produces the SG/TxG forms in 2a.

(3.2) TxG lexical items *kucken* ('to look') and *fallen* ('to fall')

TxG: *Kuk mal, wie der Baum umfällt/umfallt.*¹³⁸

a. MED 21: [kuk mal vi: dər baum falt.]

b. BAN 1: [kuk vi: der baum is gəradə an falən.]

c. BAS 5: [kuk mɔl vi: der baum jets falə du:t.]

Looking at the responses in (3.1), there is evidence of some dialect-mixing of SG *sehen* and ALS *lüega* with #s 19 and 20. Informant #21 also produces the German colloquial form of 'to look,' *gucken*. Interesting variations of the ALS prefix *àwa* [ɔ:və], SG *um* ('over') point to some convergence in the speech of #s 19 and 24, as well as some dialect-mixing in the speech of #s 23 and 25. All but #20 use the ALS demonstrative *salla* ('that'). It is unclear whether #20 is expressing the ALS *da* ('this') or a variation of the SG masc.nom demonstrative *der* in this context, as both are reasonable assumptions.

To substantiate the claim of lexical differences between TxAls and TxG speakers, Gilbert's (1972) responses for this item are shown for Gillespie and Medina Counties in Figure 3.1 below. In the following tables, the numbers next to the phonetic transcription represent each participant as coded by Gilbert (1972). If participants produced several variations of the feature targeted, they are recorded under each, with subsequent pronunciations in parentheses. The thirteen participants in bold type indicate those Gilbert (1972) noted as having Alsatian ancestors (parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents). The five participants (#s 4, 7, 8, 12, 18) who noted other German varieties spoken at home ("HG," LG) are further *italicized* to facilitate recognition of dialect-mixing. It is important to point out that vowels were transcribed phonemically for Gilbert's (1972) maps.

¹³⁸ In Gillespie County, *-felt* or *-falt* was the most common response for SG *fällt*. As for other items, only the realization of the targeted item (here, SG *fallen*) was noted by fieldworkers.

Table 3.1: Gilbert TxG data for SG *-fällt* ('falls')

Gilbert (1972) Map 81: (strong verbs, 3rd sing.pres.indic.)
 Look how that tree is falling down, SG *Sieh, wie der Baum umfällt*,
 ALS *Lüeg amol wie salle(r) Boim àwakäijt*.

<i>Gillespie County:</i>		<i>25 participants</i>	<i>Medina:</i>	<i>27</i>
ke:t (ALS)	-		9, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27	8
-felt (SG)	9	2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 18, 20, 49	7, 11, 26	3
-falt	9	3, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 47, 48	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 12 , 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 , (21)	14 (1)
-felt & -falt	5	7, 12, 25, 27, 28	-	
-falən du:t	1	2a		
falən dait	-		22	1
-an runtərfalən ist	1	46		
-gəfalən is (isch)	-		4 , 10	2

All twenty-five Gilbert (1972) Gillespie County participants responded with some form of the SG lexical item *-fallen*. There were no occurrences of the ALS verb *käija* in Gillespie County, nor in any of the other counties polled. Conversely, the eight participants in eastern Medina County noted in Example (3.1) responded with the ALS verb *käija*. Table 3.2 shows 2009 participant responses for this same phrase:

Table 3.2: Roesch (2009) data for SG *sieh* ('look') and *-fällt* ('falls')

“Look how that tree is falling down,” SG *Sieh, wie der Baum umfällt*
ALS *Lüeg amol wie salle(r) Boim àwakäijt.*

<i>Roesch (2009):</i>		27
<hr/>		
-ke:t (ALS)	202, 234, 235, 240, 241, 242, 247, 248, 249a, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257	18
-ke:ja, am ke:ja	237, 238, 239, 249c	4
le:kt	236	1
gpult	233	1
[not polled:	243, 249b, 249d	3]
<hr/>		
ly:əg (amo:l) (ALS)	202, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 247, 248, 249a, 249c, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 257	19
luek	255, 256	2
luk (amol)	233, 242, ¹³⁹ (256)	2 (1)
si: (SG)	235	1
[not polled:	243, 249b, 249d	3]
<hr/>		

Twenty-two informants (92%) produced grammatical and phonologically-similar forms of the 3rd sing.pres. or the infinitive for ALS *käija*. Twenty-three (96%) also produced the ALS imperative form *lüeg*, eleven (49%) of which appended the modal particle *amol*. As previously mentioned, Gilbert’s transcriptions are not the only source

¹³⁹ The recording for this participant was marred by static and was therefore difficult to transcribe phonetically.

of distinctive lexical items used by the Alsatian speakers in Medina County. The *Ellsasser Wordbuch*¹⁴⁰ (1981) also provides an indispensable source of vocabulary used by TxAls speakers in Castroville. The ninety pages of entries are preceded by an introduction which points to certain difficulties in orthography, but the dictionary's goal of documenting TxAls vocabulary is not diminished by these discrepancies. The *Ellsasser Wordbuch* (EW) defines lexical items adequately while simultaneously providing a general guide to pronunciation. It is especially valuable for its extensive record of TxAls vocabulary (the only one in existence). The short excerpt from the EW below gives the reader an insight into some lexical differences between TxAls lexical items and SG (and near-standard TxG).¹⁴¹ Several participants remarked that many items listed in the EW were “not the way they spoke,”¹⁴² i.e., that it represents only a portion of the TxAls speech community. In addition to phonological differences, many lexical items used by TxAls speakers affect comprehensibility with other TxG dialects.¹⁴³ I use the examples below in an introductory role to present some general lexical differences between TxAls and TxG speakers, despite certain lexical commonalities between TxAls and other German dialects. No gender is indicated in the EW.

¹⁴⁰ Entries from TxAls and ALS dictionaries have not been transcribed using the IPA, as with the SG entries (Langenscheidt 1995), but the detailed description of ALS phonetic differences can be referenced in Chapter Four.

¹⁴¹ TxG lexical items are examples taken either from Gilbert (1972) or my interviews conducted with Texas Germans in Medina and Gillespie Counties. They are not exhaustive and are meant only to illustrate general differences between TxAls and TxG.

¹⁴² For example, #238 made a point of mentioning that the EW (1981) was only “one man's way of speaking Alsatian.”

¹⁴³ Many of the participants had difficulty understanding my SG during the interview sessions as well as some of my first attempts at pronouncing TxAls.

Table 3.3: Lexical examples from the *Elsasser Wordbuch*

<i>TxAIs (EW)</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>ALS (Nisslé 2008)</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>TxG variations</i>
1. abis ¹⁴⁴	‘something’	äbbis	etwas	was, etwas
2. ardapfel	‘potato’	Ardäpfel <i>m</i> , Hårdäpfel <i>m</i> , Grummbeeraf	Kartoffel <i>f</i>	Kartoffel
3. geis	‘goat’	Gaiss <i>f</i>	Ziege <i>f</i>	Ziege (Map 66) ¹⁴⁵
4. sah ¹⁴⁶	‘to see’	sah	sehen	sehen
5. hâfe	‘cooking pot’	Kochhâfa <i>m</i>	Kochtopf <i>m</i>	(Koch)topf (Map 6)
6. namlich	‘alike, same’	namlig	derselbe, gleich	dasselbe, übereins, gleich
7. verbracha ¹⁴⁷	‘to break’	verbracha	zerbrechen	kaputt (machen) (Map 118)
8. ross	‘horse’	Ross <i>n</i>	Pferd <i>n</i>	Pferd (Map 103)
9. sieter	‘since’	zitter	seit	seit
10. zwiesle	‘whisper’	zwisla, fleschtera	flüstern	flüstern

For instance, Example (3.3) below of the ALS demonstrative *namlig*-, SG *derselbe* (‘the same’) listed above shows its current use by TxAls speakers:

¹⁴⁴ Most TxAls speakers pronounce this [ɛpɪs].

¹⁴⁵ These numbers refer to the Gilbert (1972) maps that record responses for these items.

¹⁴⁶ This is one of several monosyllabic verbs in ALS. The past participle of *sah*, *gsa*, was listed in the EW (1981), but *g’sahne* was often used by interviewees as the past participle of SG *sehen* (‘to see’); *gsei* (‘been’) was not included in the dictionary, but is a distinctive past participle belonging to the Mulhouse dialect and was used by all TxAls participants.

¹⁴⁷ The adjectives *verbrocha* and *verhejt* (inf. *verhehla*) were also used by my participants for the Gilbert (1972) item, “The table is broken,” but this is not listed in the EW (1981).

(3.3) Demonstrative *namlig*- ('the same')

- a. Eikel 6.1: He asked the same question yesterday.
#202: *Ař hāt d'namlig g'fřo:gt geschteřt.*
SG: Er hat gestern dieselbe Frage gestellt.
- b. #239: *Wu n ich uf d'Walt kumma bin, dřno sin miř in namliga Hūs gsei. . .*
SG: Als ich auf die Welt gekommen bin, sind wir danach in dasselbe Haus gewesen. . .
'when I came into the world, we were then in the same Haus...'

As one can see, several of these ALS/TxAls lexical items are quite distinct from their SG/TxG counterparts. Some items, of course, are also shared by or similar to other southern German dialects (e.g., Badisch, Bavarian), such as *Geis* ('goat') or *Erdapfel* ('potato'), or the High Alemannic spoken in Switzerland. This is indicative of the strong lexical kinship Alsatian shares with other German dialects on one hand, and the similarity of TxG to SG on the other.

Such distinctions are also recorded in Gilbert (1972) maps for Medina County, for the translation items "horse" and "a girl." The Gilbert item for "horse" (SG *Pferd*, ALS *Ross*) investigated lexical variation and is compared with my 2009 data in Table 3.4:

Table 3.4: Lexical distinctiveness for “horse”

Gilbert (1972) Map 103: (lexical variation)

“a horse” SG *ein Pferd*, ALS *a Ross*

	<i>Gilbert (1972): 27</i>	<i>Roesch (2009)</i>	<i>27</i>
ros (ALS)	4, 9, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27	202, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 247, 248, 249a, 249b, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257	25 (96%)
pfe(:)rt (SG), fe(:)rt	1, 3, (4), 5, 6, 8 , 10, 11, 12 , 13, 4, 15, (17), (18), (21), 26, (27)	(251)	
peo(t)	2, (15), 16, 22	-	
gaul	(5), 7	-	
hařs		249c	1
[not polled:		233	1]

No other county included in Gilbert’s (1972) study recorded the ALS term *Ross*. All eight Gilbert (1972) participants who have been identified as probable fluent TxAls speakers produced ALS *Ross*. Again, dialect-mixing on the lexical level can be observed by two (**4, 8**) of the five participants who mentioned several dialects being spoken at home. Interesting is the duplicate response of both the ALS *Ross* and SG *Pferd* by #s **4**, **17, 18, 21**, and **27** (also by 2009 participant #251). Looking at the geographic location of these participants shows them all in the eastern portion of Medina County, indicating probable frequent contact between these individuals and different German dialects.

Another lexical item recorded solely in Medina County was the Gilbert (1972) translation task which investigated lexical variation for “girl,” as in ALS *Maidla* for SG *Mädchen*.

Table 3.5: Lexical distinctiveness for “girl”

Gilbert (1972) Map #110: (lexical variation)
 “a girl” SG *Mädchen*, ALS *Maidla*

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i>	<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	
maidlə (ALS): 7, 8, 9, 12, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27	202, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 247, 248, 249a, 249b, 249c, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257	27 (100%)
metçən (SG), me:tʃən, etc.: 3, 5, 6, 11, (12), 13, 14, 15, 17		
metçə, me:tʃə: 1, (7, 8), 14, 18, (21) (etc.)		
me:dəl 4, 10, (12, 18)		
vi:çt (LG) 2, 15, 16, 22		

Eleven of the thirteen Gilbert participants produced ALS *Maidla*. In addition, other differences can be observed in Gilbert's (1972) data between TxAls and TxG lexical items such as ALS *Büa* and SG *Jungen* (Table 4.11), (or phonological differences, such as in ALS *Křyt* and SG *Kraut* in Table 4.8).

I have introduced several distinctive ALS lexical items which differ from the near-standard TxG dialect by comparing my 2009 data with Gilbert's (1972) data in Medina and Gillespie counties. In addition, I have identified a group of speakers in Gilbert's data who produce these items consistently, as well as a group of speakers who

produce both ALS and SG items that are indicative of dialect-mixing. Chapters Four and Five also includes observations of these speakers' responses to further substantiate these hypotheses. The following discussion investigates the extent to which TxAls speakers insert lexical items from the main language in contact, English, into the ancestral language (AL).

3.3 LEXICAL BORROWING

The TxAls speech community (and TxG) is a prime example of “unequal bilingualism” in a language contact situation. Winford (2003: 33-4) addresses borrowing in such a linguistic setting as follows:

The languages of immigrant groups and ethnic minorities absorbed into a larger host community are particularly susceptible to lexical borrowing from the dominant language. Eventually, such minority groups tend to become bilingual, or to shift entirely to the host language. The greater intensity of contact during the phase of bilingualism and shift, as well as the asymmetry in power and prestige of the languages involved, promote borrowing, primarily into the subordinate language.

It is not surprising to find a uni-directionality in borrowing in TxAls, that is, words are borrowed from the dominant language, English, into the recipient language, TxAls, but not vice-versa. There was no occurrence of the reverse during interview sessions. Supporting this directionality and its correlation to the power and prestige of the source language (§1.4.1) is also the rare borrowing of any Spanish words into TxAls. The only Spanish word encountered occurred during the Gilbert (1972) translation task for English “pumpkin”, which was usually translated as *galawasa* (Span *calabasa*).

Some clarification of terms is necessary here, as there has been much discussion of the differences between *borrowing* and *code-switching*,¹⁴⁸ since “borrowing,” “insertion,” and “switching,” were first discussed by Haugen (1953). However, there is general agreement that distinctions can be made which revolve around the frequency of use of a loanword, the breadth of its acceptance by speakers in a speech community, and the number of word items. Some also include the degree of structural integration of the loanword to distinguish between the two, i.e. Clyne (2003) maintains that only established borrowings can be integrated structurally, but in the case of code-switching. There is also acknowledgment that these two phenomena cannot always be strictly separated, but lie on a continuum (Myers-Scotton 2006).

Other terms have also been developed for these two phenomena. Clyne (2003:76) prefers to use the generic terms “transference” (transfers of single or multiple items) for borrowing and “transversion” for code-switching (crossing over to another language) in discussions of these contact-driven phenomena. Although Clyne’s (2003) terms are helpful in comparisons of other structural language contact phenomena,¹⁴⁹ the terms “borrowing” and “code-switching” are used here, as they are the terms generally employed in the literature on the topic. *Borrowing* refers to established loanwords (usually single-word or single semantic units) used intra-sententially,¹⁵⁰ which are consistently and widely used by most speakers in the community and are usually phonologically and grammatically integrated. *Code-switching* refers to both intra-

¹⁴⁸ See also Clyne (2003: 70-92) for a thorough discussion of terminology and models surrounding borrowing and code-switching.

¹⁴⁹ Clyne (2003) discusses a whole spectrum of phonological (see §4.4.3), morphological, and syntactic phenomena in terms of transference.

¹⁵⁰ Code-switching has further been differentiated between intra-sentential (switching within the same phrase or sentence) and inter-sentential (whole sentences are produced before switching to another language) (Myers-Scotton 1993: 3-4).

sentential and inter-sentential language alternation and includes “nonce borrowings” (Poplack, Sankoff, & Miller 1988).

To facilitate a brief discussion of lexical borrowing and frame a discussion of phonological transfer in the Chapter Four, I draw upon Thomason’s (2001: 70-1) borrowing scale in situations of language contact in which she correlates social and linguistic contexts (intensity of contact,¹⁵¹ attitudes, speaker fluency or bilingualism) with the extent to which lexical and structural features are borrowed:

Table 3.6: Borrowing scale¹⁵² (Thomason 2001)

Stage	Features
1. Casual contact (borrowers need not be fluent)	Lexical borrowing only: most often nouns, but also verbs, adjectives, and adverbs
2. Slightly more intense contact (borrowers must be reasonably fluent bilinguals)	Function words (conjunctions and adverbial particles like ‘then’), i.e. still non-basic vocabulary; slight structural borrowing; phonological features such as new phonemes realized by new phones, but in loanwords only.
3. More intense contact (more bilinguals, attitudes, and other social factors favoring borrowing)	More significant structures are borrowed, usually without resulting major typological change, i.e. derivational affixes, pronouns, etc. Phonologically, loss of native phonemes not found in the source language, etc. In syntax, such features as word order and of coordination and subordination.
4. Intense contact (very extensive bilingualism, social factors strongly favoring borrowing)	Heavy lexical and structural borrowing

¹⁵¹ Thomason (2001: 69) notes that intensity of contact is “a vague concept, and it cannot be made much more precise because it interacts with speakers’ attitudes as well as with more easily specified factors, such as the level of fluency...and the proportion of borrowing-language speakers who are fully bilingual...”

¹⁵² Thomason’s scale is not reproduced in its entirety, but its main features are described.

This scale will also be referred to in the discussion of phonology in Chapter Four. A second framework provides a hierarchy of purely linguistic (structural) constraints developed by Muysken (1981) as found in Winford (2003: 51):

nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions > co-ordinating
conjunctions > quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns >
clitic pronouns > subordinating conjunctions

Muysken (1981) bases his hierarchy on the “accessibility” of certain structures, i.e. nouns and adjectives are borrowed more frequently than verbs or prepositions because they form “less tightly knit subsystems of the grammar than functional morphemes do” (Winford 2003:51). In order to draw any comparisons for TxAls with regard to these scales, I first describe the nature and extent of the integration of English lexical items into TxAls.

Borrowing into TxAls is mainly limited to single-item occurrences of nouns and verbs,¹⁵³ as in the following example:

(3.4) *Mir hàn hett morga 's* [Johnson grass] *g'brieselt*.
SG: Wir haben heute morgen das Johnson-Gras gesprüht.
'We sprayed the Johnson grass this morning.'

These borrowed nouns largely represent cultural borrowings (Myers-Scotton 2006: 212),¹⁵⁴ i.e., items for which there was no adequate Alsatian word in the homeland, as in words pertaining to the immigrants' new environment (*Johnson grass*, *pasture*,¹⁵⁵ *tank*, *krick* 'creek') or to technological innovations which took place after immigration (Gilbert 1965b: 110), such as [ka:ra] ('car'), [bu:gi] ('buggy'), or [ti:r, taijər] ('tire'). Note #254's use of such terms in a recount of an accident he experienced:

¹⁵³ This seems to have been due more to the inability to recall the word at that moment or the loss of the original Alsatian word due to infrequency of use or lack of transmission.

¹⁵⁴ Myers-Scotton (2006: 212-15) defines these as “words that fill gaps in the recipient language's store of words” versus core borrowings, or “words that duplicate elements that the recipient language already has.”

¹⁵⁵ Many of the TxAls did not use the English word 'pasture' in the Gilbert translation task, “The animal died out in the pasture,” but instead consistently translated it with *Fald*, SG *Feld* ('field'). This response is also noted by Gilbert (1972).

(3.5) *Un dr [pickup] isch a sidis un d' **tir** isch kapütt. Un ich bin nitt üssagfloga, ich bin am [steering wheel] verboga . . .*

‘and the pickup is on its side and the tire is ruined. And I wasn’t thrown out, I was wrapped around the steering wheel...’

Winford (2003: 37) discusses borrowing in terms of social motivation and further defines the motivation for cultural borrowing as one of “need” versus “prestige” for core borrowing. For example, participant #234 (opening quote, Chapter Four) inserts *music machine* (‘juke box’), [kauntř]¹⁵⁶ (‘counter’), and [bu:dəl] (‘bottle’). The word *budel*, ALS *Fläsch*, would be considered a core borrowing,¹⁵⁷ whose use might have originally been motivated by the “prestige” associated with using the English word. This speaker borrowed and phonetically integrated the English “bottle,” which has now become embedded as the lexical item *budel*.

There are also examples of verbs borrowed into TxAls, although several fluent speakers have displayed continued loyalty to TxAls by expressing mild disapproval for inserting English lexical items into their discourse. Fluent speaker #202 often quotes (with a shake of the head) a TxAls (C.G.) who frequently integrates English verbs into his sentences:

¹⁵⁶ As noted earlier, Gilbert (1972) used the symbol ř for the apical trill and transcribed certain items phonetically when these were pertinent to allophonic distinctions. This same symbol is used to make distinctions between the TxAls and SG/TxG [r].

¹⁵⁷ It could also be considered a cultural borrowing, if the Alsatian immigrants were unfamiliar with glass bottles in their region.

- (3.6)
- a. C.G. *Hett morga hàn ech durch's Fansteř k'vatcht
un's hàt [blenty] geragent un das [like] ich.*
- ALS: *Hett morga hàn ech durch's Fansteř g'lüegt
un's hàt viel geragent un das hàn ich gâr.*
- SG: Heute morgen habe ich durch's Fenster gesehen und
es hat viel geregnet und das hat mir gefallen.
'This morning I looked out the window and it
was raining a lot and I like that.'
- b. #235 *I han's [enjoyed].*
- ALS: *Ich han's g'niasa.*
- SG: Ich habe es genossen.
'I enjoyed it.'
- c. #249d *I hàn Elsässisch geřeeda, sie hàn in Ànglisch
geànsert.*
- ALS: *Ich hàn Elsässisch g'řett, un sie hàn's in Ànglisch g'saijt.*
- SG: Ich habe Elsässisch gesprochen, sie haben in Englisch
geantwortet.
'I spoke Alsatian, they answered in English.'

The verbs in (3.6a) and (3.6c) have been structurally integrated into the speaker's statement, and partially integrated phonologically. For Clyne (2003), this would indicate an established loanword rather than code-switching. Appel & Muysken (1987) might include this in the expressive function of code-switching, in which the speaker expresses his mixed identity. Many TxAls speakers still integrate certain English lexical items phonologically, which might have several motivations. It could indicate a conscious act of loyalty to the AL. For this speaker, this could also be related to the fluency and frequency with which he uses the AL.¹⁵⁸ The adverb "plenty" in (3.6a) is also frequently used by TxAls speakers, so much so that it has almost replaced the lexical item, *viel*. Many participants noted that "plenty" was usually used instead of *viel*, even though they were careful not to use it in translation tasks. It seems that certain prescriptive (and

¹⁵⁸ Poplack, Sankoff, & Muller (1988) noted that phonological integration increased with the loanword's frequency of use in their studies in Ottawa/Hull.

purist) efforts by a few fluent speakers have emphasized that *viel* is the *Alsatian* word and should be used instead of the English “plenty.”¹⁵⁹

In reviewing the types of borrowing that occur in TxAls and comparing these with the above stages described by Thomason (2001), it appears that the extent of lexical borrowing did not progress past the first stage (see also §4.4.3), i.e. past borrowing nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. These borrowed items were predominantly cultural borrowings of content morphemes. This is also in relative compliance with Muysken’s (1981) hierarchy, but it is interesting that there is no evidence of borrowed adjectives. The limited extent of English lexical items in TxAls probably has less to do with the intensity of contact and more to do with sociolinguistic and attitudinal factors associated with the recipient language, i.e. stigmatization and loss of function of TxAls, which arrested transmission and limited the linguistic functions of TxAls. As it is now only spoken by an aging and shrinking speaker population in restricted domains, its lexical cache also largely represents an arrested stage in language shift.

On the other hand, positive attitudes toward the AL could also account for the low occurrence of borrowing despite intense contact with English. Kloss (1966: 206, 209-13) mentions pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts as an important factor in the maintenance of the AL. Certainly, the long history of Alsatian as a minority language in Europe and its existence today as the largest dialect spoken in France (Héran et al. 2002) attests to strong ethnic foundations rooted in language. For example, Treffer-Dallers (1999) and Gardner-Chloros (1991) both researched borrowing from French into Alsatian in Strasbourg. Although they found a higher rate of borrowing from French into Alsatian which reflected the higher status of French, it was very low, around only 2 –

¹⁵⁹ These prescriptive acts are mainly carried out by the TxAls figurehead of the community, #202, and many speakers attempt to limit their code-switching—at least when he is present.

2.5%. This low percentage was attributed to a high degree of language loyalty to the minority language, Alsatian.

3.4 LEXICAL INNOVATION AND CONVERGENCE

The renewed relationship between the Alsace and Texas might also account for the continued scarcity of English loanwords in TxAls. Current TxAls speakers are very interested in retrieving the Alsatian word for English cultural borrowings such as “car,” “truck,” and “sink.” As a direct result of the organized visits and events on both sides of the ocean, TxAls speakers’ interest in “updating” their language has been rekindled after discovering that it has an important communicative function. Speaker #251 speaks about the lexical enrichment the city exchange with the Alsatian town of Ensisheim has initiated:

...the Alsations tell us we speak the old Alsatian here and that’s all we knew . . . so there’s some words that I never heard of before, like this first Alsatian we kept . . . we went to church Sunday morning and he wanted to drive my car. And he said, “*Das isch a grossi Blachboxa.*” He called it a big tin box, you know. Anyway, he drove it and we got to the corner and he said, “*Wu isch d’Bramsa?*” Well, he was talking about the brake. I’d never heard that word before. So I’m still learning . . . because we always fill in the English word if something doesn’t come to mind right quick.

It is difficult to identify exactly what various speakers have retrieved from contact with European Alsatian other than those mentioned by participants during interviews. For example, #249a remarked that she learned the word for “village” ALS *Dorf* from her visits to the Alsace. Her father had always referred to D’Hanis as “depot” [di:po:] and she had always assumed this was the ALS word for “town.” #251 reports that the word for “car” ALS *Waga*, TxAls *cara* was learned during visits to the Alsace and #202 relates his discovery of the ALS word *Reifa* for “tire” [taijər] during one of his visits. It is clear, however, that the Alsatian exchange has replenished the lexical inventory of TxAls,

especially with regard to English words borrowed and integrated long ago. The frequently-utilized TxAls adverb “plenty” has even been borrowed into ALS conversation by visiting Alsatians.

Interesting in both TxAls and TxG are certain “loan blends,” “loan translations”¹⁶⁰ (calques), and “loan creations” (Haugen 1953) which are shared across these two dialects. Haugen offers a classification of lexical contact phenomena ranging generally from pure loanwords to loanblends to creations, with various intermediate stages. The examples already introduced such as *caña* and *buggy* represent “pure loanwords” (Winford 2003: 43). There are also examples of creations as in the word for ‘skunk,’ TxAls *Stinkkatz*, (‘stink cat’) which might have been created from the English “pole cat” and SG *Stinktief*. It could also be a hybrid creation connected to the TxAls/TG word for “squirrel,” *Eichkatz*¹⁶¹ (‘oak cat’), a term found in southern German and Austrian (*Eichkatzerl*) dialects. The presence of shared loan translations and native creations in both TxAls and TxG such as *Gallerie* (‘porch’), *Stinkkatz* (‘skunk’), and *Eichkatz* (‘squirrel’) supply some lexical evidence favoring the hypothesis of the beginning formation of a TxG koiné (Gilbert 1980: 229), or what has more recently been discussed by Boas (2009a) as the early stages in the formation of a new world dialect (Trudgill 2004).

An excellent example of calquing in TxG is one provided by Guion (1996: 462) in her illustration showing the borrowing of plural morpheme markers into TxG:

¹⁶⁰ These translations are replicated on a foreign model in the native language, as with the German calque, *Wolkenkratzer* (‘cloud scraper’) modeled on the English word for “skyscraper” (Winford 2003: 44).

¹⁶¹ This was included in the dictionary as a TxAls term, but is a term shared by the TxG and TxAls community.

Table 3.7: TxG for “lightning bug”

	Older fluent	Younger fluent	Semi-speakers
Plural formation of “lightning bugs”	<i>Lichtebuks</i> <i>Lichtkäfer</i>	<i>Lichtkäfer</i>	<i>Lichtebugs</i> <i>Lichtkäfer</i>

The SG word for “lightning bug” is *Glühwurm* (literally ‘glow worm’), but TxG reflects a direct translation of “light” + “beetle”: SG *Licht* + *käfer* which imitates the German pattern for forming compounds. When TxAls were asked to translate “lightning bug,” the responses showed a great deal of variation, as each respondent tried to think of the *Alsatian* word (*Gliajwermla*, Nisslé 2008), or create something similar. This persistence in providing an Alsatian word for me during the translation tasks was not an isolated example, and in general, the participants often went to painful lengths (e.g., sometimes taking several minutes accompanied by metacognitive conversations to produce a word, showing frustration at their inability to access the Alsatian word, consulting with other speakers present, and even calling others on the telephone for an answer) illustrates high degree loyalty to the ancestral dialect. Various words (finally) given were *Blitzkàfer* (‘lightning beetle’), *Fierkàfer* (‘fire beetle’), and *Fiermuk* (‘fire fly’).¹⁶²

Certain words produced by TxAls speakers also reflected lexical convergence i.e., where words in different languages become similar to each other (Clyne: 2003: 79). For example, the Gilbert translation item, “What did they name the child,” which targeted the past participle of SG *nennen*, “genannt,” shows variation not only in Medina County, but also heavily in the western counties and less so in the eastern counties.

¹⁶² Gilbert (1972) also records a great deal of variation in other counties for TxG speakers in Map #111.

Table 3.8: Convergence of lexical items in TxAls

Gilbert (1972) Map 87: (irregular verbs)
 “What did they name the child?” SG *Wie haben sie das Kind genannt?*
 ALS *Was han si d’Kind gnännt?*

	<i>Gilbert (1972):</i> 27	<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	27
gəna:nt (SG)	11, 13, 17, 19		
gənent (ALS)	1, 3, 5, 12 , 15, 20, 21		
gəna:mt	7, 8, 9 , 10, 14, 16, 18 , 26, 27	241	1
gənemt	2, (18), (21)	247	1
gəno:ma	-	235, 237, 238, 240, 253, 256	6
khaisa		202, 239, 249a,* 250, 254	5
periphrastic: (noun nɔ:ma)	-	234, 236, 248, 249c, 251, 252b, 255, 257	8
unknown:		252a	1
[not polled:	4, 6, 22, 23, 24, 25	233, 242, 243, 249b, 249d	5]

* khaist

All of the Gilbert (1972) participants polled produced the weak participle form *-t* of SG/URA *nennen* ‘to name’ prescribed by SG, in stark contrast to the two 2009 speakers who produced *genamt* and *genemt*. The data suggests there was already some lexical transference from the English verb “to name” at this point, but structural maintenance of the weak participle suffix *-t*. The picture today looks quite different. Six (28%) TxAls speakers produced the lexical item *nàma* for “to name”, but with the strong participle ending *-a*. 38% had to paraphrase the sentence with the noun *nàma* in order to complete the task and 24% (five speakers) employed the URA strong verb *haisa* SG *heissen*. Part of the discrepancy lies in the fact that Gilbert fieldworkers prompted the

verb *nennen*, which I did not prompt. However, the 2009 responses indicate a partial lexical loss of the ALS verb *nänna* (Nisslé 2008: 252), which shows signs of convergence with the English equivalent “to name” and the ALS noun *nàma*. The Gilbert (1972) item (Map 45), “the red ants that sting,” also revealed some interesting verb forms for SG *stechen* (‘to sting’) indicative of convergence between English “sting” and ALS *stacha* (3rd.pres.indic.). Participants #249b and #256 produced *stanga* in this phrase.

Another phenomenon of language contact is language alternation, or code-switching. The next section investigates instances of code-switching between English and Alsatian observed during interviews and translation tasks.

3.5 CODE-SWITCHING

The actual term “code-switching” was first discussed by Gumperz (1964) within the confines of discourse functions. However, code-switching has come to signify all kinds of language switching regardless of function and has become the focal point of research on language contact phenomena. Research on the topic can be divided into the two main areas: social motivation (why the speaker switches)¹⁶³ (Poplack 1980, Blom & Gumperz 1982, Myers-Scotton 1993a, etc.), and structural constraints (where it occurs) (Auer 1995, Muysken 2000, Myers-Scotton 1993b, etc.). Given the fact, however, that the majority of the TxAls-speaking community (1) can no longer be considered sufficiently fluent in both English and TxAls to spontaneously switch between the two codes (most are formerly-fluent speakers who rarely use Alsatian), and given that (2) the use of TxAls is extremely limited (mainly to the domain of home and friends), discussing

¹⁶³ Most of the recent discussions on motivation focus on the premise that the speaker consciously switches and employs this as a strategy in negotiating symbolic power.

socio-psychological motivations (strategies) for code-switching is fairly moot, and analyzing grammatical constraints on such a small scale is not informative. However, given that code-switching does occur, it is informative to look at these instances to gain insight into fluency issues of the speakers. For this reason, Appel and Muysken's (1987) taxonomic differentiation between discourse functions in code-switching which includes the speaker's linguistic competency and stylistic choices are used for descriptive purposes here. Structural constraints as pertain to TxAls are only approached perfunctorily within theories of phonological, grammatical, and lexical similarity in contact situations (Muysken 2000, Clyne 2003).

The discussion in this section moves past discrete English items integrated into the vocabulary which are widely accepted and used in the TxAls community, and investigates the issue of language alternation or code-switching (CS). I observed three general scenarios during my interviews where language alternation occurs: (1) the interview usually begins in English, and as the interviewees become more confident and relaxed, they move into Alsatian, often switching back and forth to English; (2) during Alsatian conversation, TxAls speakers switch intra-sententially to individual English words (beginning quote, Chapter Four), or, (3) speakers switch completely to English for several minutes. Most of the intra-sentential code-switches seemed to occur in the narratives of the limited number of fluent speakers.

Appel & Muysken (1987) differentiate between five discourse functions in code-switching: (1) referential (lack of fluency); (2) directive (to the listener); (3) expressive (of speaker's mixed identity); (4) phatic or metacognitive; and (5) poetic (jokes, puns, stories). I observed cases of code-switching for all of these functions, which will be briefly addressed below.

In the following example of the first scenario with a fluent 82-year old TxAls, the speaker begins a story of the day she took her younger sister to school in English (Alsatian segments are translated in the footnote):

(3.7): #239:

So one day I took her to school, they said you could bring your siblings along and I took her along...she was talking *Elsess*, so she says, “I want, *wu isch mi Kittl?* . . . Lord, I got so embarrassed and I said, “Don’t say that, say ‘coat.’ You shouldn’t talk like that . . . Well, she wanted her coat, you know. And I got embarrassed and I said, “Don’t talk like that.” And then she came home and she told Mama, “Oh, boy, she really did give it to me, because I said I wanted *mi Kittel*. *Vell, Mama, . . . D. hat gsaijt, ‘Nei, dü sollsch nitt so reeda.’” Sie (Mama) hat gsaijt, [well], das isch, dü brüchsch nitt [worry], [well] lass nur geh, das, dü lehrsch so genuch.* And she learned it.¹⁶⁴

This speaker alternates languages both inter-sententially and intra-sententially. The poetic function of the story determines the main choice of English, perhaps also for the listener’s benefit (at this point, the speaker is unsure of the listener’s fluency). It is also most likely that the insertion of ALS *Elsess* triggers the switch to Alsatian in the following clause. Clyne (2003: 162) discusses lexical triggers which facilitate a code-switch within his concept of *lexical facilitation*. Interesting, too, are the insertions of the English discourse marker “well,” discussed later in this section.

This next example illustrates what Appel & Muysken (1987) would term a referential function in code-switching during conversation, triggered by a gap in the speaker’s lexical competence. Semi-speaker #240 does not know the ALS word for “generation.”

¹⁶⁴ Translation: Where is my coat?; my coat; D. said, “No, you shouldn’t talk like that.”; She (Mama) said, well, you don’t need to worry, let it go, you’ll learn it soon enough.

(3.8): #240:

*Un nitt züe viel kenn das [say], kann das jetzt no [say].
Eini vum salli nin Brüedr, eine isch mi Grossvatr g'sei.
Ich bin di viert [generation].*

‘And not too many can say that, can still say that.
One of those nine brothers, one was my grandfather.
I’m the fourth generation.’

For #240, the use of the English verb ‘say’ seems to be an unconscious slip (also indicative of the infrequent use of the AL), as he repeatedly produces the ALS verb *sàga* before and after this passage. The English and ALS lexical items for ‘to say’ are very similar, which has probably triggered the switch. Clyne (2003: 162) identifies bilingual homophones (words that sound the same or nearly the same in the two or more languages) as lexical items that facilitate a code-switch. #240’s switch to “say” is also reminiscent of Clyne’s (2003: 75) reflection on an intra-sentential switch triggered by congruent lexicalization¹⁶⁵ (Muysken 2000: 131), where both languages share a common grammatical structure that can be filled by the insertion of the lexical item from either language:

(3.9): Der Farmer’s GOT Schafe.
‘the farmer’s got sheep’

Clyne (2003: 75) remarks that this seems to be different from Muysken’s (2000) category of insertion,¹⁶⁶ as

¹⁶⁵ Clyne (2003) includes this classification in his term “transversion,” or the way some lexical items trigger a switch.

¹⁶⁶ Muysken’s subcategorizes code-switching into three types: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization.

the speaker is crossing over into the other language rather than transferring something . . . from one language to another. We may be dealing here with a process that is psychologically different to other kinds of lexical transference. This needs to be specially labeled in a way that distinguishes it from the lexical transference commonly referred to as ‘code-switching.’

Clyne (2003: 75) distinguishes insertion and alternation from this “crossing over” by introducing a new term, “transversion.” Example (3.7) would also be considered “transversion” by Clyne’s definition. Further examples of transversion facilitated by bilingual homophones are shown in Example (3.10):

(3.10)

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| a. Gilbert #34: | ‘We went with <u>her</u> .’ |
| #252: | [miř ha:n mit <u>hər</u> gəŋa] |
| ALS: | Mir sin mit <u>ira</u> ¹⁶⁷ gəŋa. |
| SG: | <i>Wir sind mit <u>ihr</u> gegangen.</i> |
| b. Gilbert #129: | ‘Is that a squirrel <u>on the</u> pecan tree?’ |
| #256: | [ɪʃ das a aigakats <u>an ði</u> : nysabɔim] |
| ALS: | Isch das a Eichhörnla <u>ufm</u> Nussboim? |
| SG: | <i>Ist das ein Eichhörnchen <u>auf dem</u> Nussbaum?</i> |
| c. Gilbert #46: | ‘ <u>There</u> is something in your left <u>eye</u> .’ |
| #233: | [deř ɪʃ a di:ŋ in dini <u>oi</u>] |
| ALS: | <u>Da</u> isch ebbis in di linka <u>oig</u> . |
| SG: | <i><u>Da</u> ist etwas in deinem linken <u>Auge</u>.</i> |

Bilingual homophones such as TxAls [di] and [ði] (‘the’) or [əř] (fem.dat in unstressed positions) and [hər] (‘her’) often triggered a code-switch.

The context within which speech is produced seemed to affect the frequency of code-switching, which increased when the speaker was confronted with translation tasks

¹⁶⁷ Many of the TxAls speakers use variations of the SG dative ‘ihr.’

removed from the flow of natural speech production. During the translation tasks, it was evident that speakers switched to English when they could not access the Alsatian word (referential function, Appel & Muysken 1987). In these cases, the speaker prefaced a comment to me in English (directive) with “What IS the Alsatian word?” or to themselves (phatic), usually preceded by a pause. This even occurred with core vocabulary words which informants recognized or produced later, such as ALS *Fanschter*, SG *Fenster* (‘window’), ALS *Kryt*, SG *Kraut* (‘cabbage’), or even ALS *Melch*, SG *Milch* (‘milk’), and reflects the infrequent use of the AL by TxAls speakers.

Interesting within the context of code-switching is the occurrence of English discourse markers in TxAls such as “well” and “you know.” The loss of the German modal particles (*ja, doch, mal, aber, etc.*) and use of English discourse markers in German-American dialects has been well-documented (Salmons 1990, Goss & Salmons 2000, Fuller 2001, and Boas & Weilbacher 2009).¹⁶⁸ Several of the TxG interviews I have conducted indicate a slightly higher occurrence of the English markers “well” and “you know” in TxG conversation than in TxAls. In the case of two couples of a “mixed” marriage, i.e. where one spoke TxG and the other TxAls, there was a noticeable absence of English DMs in the Alsatian speaker’s discourse versus the Texas German’s utterances. In TxAls, there is still evidence of ALS modal particles, but also of English discourse markers (DMs) on a limited scale (as in Example 3.7 and the opening quote),¹⁶⁹ which would argue against DMs as established borrowings in TxAls (see Salmons 1990). Below is a short list of recorded occurrences and approximate translations followed by samples of ALS DM occurrences in TxAls conversations:

¹⁶⁸ Clyne (2003) also documents this development in German dialects in Australia. See Matras (1998) for an interesting typological explanation for DM code-switching due to “cognitive pressure exerted on them to draw on the resources of the pragmatically dominant language for situative, gesturelike discourse-regulating purposes” (1998: 282).

¹⁶⁹ Clyne (2003: 223) also notes a considerable level of maintenance of DMs in the Australian Western District settlements.

(3.11)

<i>amol</i>	‘once’	<i>ols</i>	‘ever’
<i>àwr</i>	‘but, really’	<i>scho</i>	‘actually, really’
<i>doch</i>	‘really’	<i>un</i>	‘and’ ¹⁷⁰
<i>gànz</i>	‘really’	<i>weisch</i>	‘you know’
<i>ja</i>	‘well’		

a. #254:

Sall Hüs hāt sie ja amol geeigen un hāts verkäuft fēr a bissi nix.
sal hy:s hāt si ja əmol gəaɪn un hōts fərkoift fēr ə bisi nɪks.
 ‘She once owned that house and sold it for a little bit of nothing.’

b. #202:

Dàs isch anànder G’schicht, dàs isch ganz interèssant...
 ‘that is another story, that is really interesting...

c. #234:

Dàs isch àwer a dummi Froi, die hān g’ dacht . . .
 ‘that is really a dumb woman, they thought . . .’ and

Àwer d’Kinner hān immř gsait, wařum kenna miř nitt ols mitgeh.
 ‘But the children always said, why can’t we ever go along.’

d. #239:

*Ja, da isch a hertř Tag gsei . . . Mama, Muettr hat àlles, weisch,
 gtràga und un àlles gbacha, weisch, in dam Oofa.*
 ‘Yes, those were hard days . . . Mama, Mother carried everything,
you know, and baked everything, you know, in the oven.

These examples illustrate that TxAls speaker still use a range of Alsatian discourse markers in their conversation.

¹⁷⁰ The fluent speakers make extravagant use of the conjunction *un* ‘and’, using it to string their entire narrative together. See the beginning quote of Chapter Four for an example.

3.6 SUMMARY

This chapter began with an introduction to some of the ALS lexical items which differ from SG and TxG, based on (1) Gilbert's (1972) data, and (2) excerpts from the Texas Alsatian dictionary, *Ellsasser Wordbuch* (Tschirhart 1981), compiled by a descendent of one of the first Castroville colonists. Examples for the ALS verbs *lüega*, SG *sehen* ('to look') and ALS *ovakaija*, SG *umfallen* ('to fall down'), substantiated maintenance of ALS verbs in TxAls. Lexical items substantiating the distinctiveness of TxAls versus TxG were examined for the Gilbert items, such as "Look how that tree is falling down," with emphasis on the two verbs mentioned above. Other items investigated were "a horse" (TxAls *a Ross*, TxG *ein Pferd*), and "girl" (TxAls *Maidla*, TxG *Mädche(n)*). In Gilbert's (1972) study, these ALS lexical items were found only in Medina County. I also noted evidence of dialect-mixing on the lexical level by (but not limited to) five Gilbert participants (bolded and italicized), who claimed more than one dialect spoken at home (Alsatian, "High German," and Low German).

The investigation into lexical borrowing from English identified most items as cultural borrowings, i.e., words for unfamiliar objects in their homeland not indigenous to the Alsace, such as those for indigenous plants (*calabasa* 'gourd, melon')¹⁷¹ and animals (*Stinkkatz* 'skunk'), or technological terms for objects that appeared during the technological boom at the beginning of the 20th century (*car*, *buggy*). There were few occurrences of core borrowing. I also determined that most borrowed items are nouns, with some occurrences of verbs, either borrowed directly ("say", "worry") or structurally integrated (*g'vatcht* 'watched').

¹⁷¹ This term actually refers to a variety of gourds or melons. There is also the French term *calabase* based on the older Spanish term which might suggest that this term was perhaps already familiar to the Alsatians.

I compared the extent of borrowing into TxAls from English to Thomason's scale and found that borrowing into TxAls did not progress past the first stage. It seems that borrowed vocabulary plays only a small role in the lexicon of the community.¹⁷² I proposed that this is due to attitudinal factors, i.e. language loyalty, rather than intensity of contact, given the scarcity of English loanwords observed in the TxAls spoken today. I also noted that TxAls speakers have retrieved many "lost" Alsatian words through the renewed contact with the Alsace in Europe, or created an Alsatian word during translation tasks for items for which they typically used the English word, such as "lightning bug" or "sink," which also substantiates a high loyalty to their ancestral language. Some lexical convergence of verbs was also observed such as TxAls *genàma* ALS *genännt*, but not to any significant degree.

I investigated the language contact phenomena of code-switching in TxAls, using Appel & Muyskens' (1987), Muysken's (2000), and Clyne's (2003) discussions on the topic as a basis for my observations. I found many examples of referential and metacognitive switching indicating a lack of fluency in the AL which I mainly attributed to infrequency of use. I also examined code-switching triggers under the general category of Clyne's (2003) lexical facilitation (Muysken's 2000 "congruent lexicalization") and found several intra-sentential examples of switching to English. This switching occurred predominantly in the context of homophones, such as "the" (ALS *d*), or "her" (ALS *ir*), and seems to be more of an unconscious act, or a different psychological process than of that usually discussed under code-switching, i.e. conveying "intentional meanings of a socio-pragmatic nature" (Myers-Scotton 1993a: vii). This is not surprising considering that many of the participants are formerly-fluent speakers of TxAls. I briefly investigated discourse markers in the conversation of TxAls speakers

¹⁷² Poplack, Sankoff, & Miller (1988) also note this in their study in Ottawa/Hull, Canada.

and found scattered instances of English DMs “well” and “you know.” However, there is still ample evidence of ALS modal particles in TxAls, which might account for the low frequency of English DMs. As noted, the current data is insufficient to reach an informed conclusion.

The general lexical assessment of TxAls indicates a high retention of vocabulary necessary for daily familial interaction and for home and agricultural work tasks (ranching, hunting, making sausage and molasses, etc.). As most of the immigrants were farmers and craftsmen and the AL was fairly limited to informal domains of home and neighbors, this is not surprising. The limited scope of borrowing and occurrences of code-switching in the discourse of TxAls speakers seem to be indicative of a high degree of language loyalty which would support preservation. All of these aspects discussed above substantiate a lexically extensive preservation of the ALS dialect in private domains. The next chapter introduces and examines the extent of the preservation of the ALS phonological system.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PHONOLOGY OF TEXAS ALSATIAN

Un'r isch ins Kri:eg gànga—[World War II]—un wu'r zrükkumma isch, sin mr in a klei Tànzhall wu sie a [music machine] kàà hàn, unr hàt a [budel] bier kàà un hàt mir immr äg'lüegt un g'lacht un ich hàn ksait zu de àndere Frau, àndre Maidl „Wer isch sallr wu steht dett an sallem [countr] mit sallem Bier un lüegt mich immr ä un làcht? Sal isch dr junior H., hat sie ksait. Ooooh. Ich hàn scho vum sallem keert, àbr ich hàn in nitt kennt, un drnou hàn mir mitinànnr gassa. Ich bin sachzin Johr kseei. Un da hàn ich kiirouta wu ich àchzeeni kseei bin. Un er hat nitt kenna tànza. Un ich hàn g'tàntz wie ewer es mir glei kseei bin. Un ich hàn ksait, wenn er nitt tànza düet, dann gàng ich nitt mit'm. Un da hàt er lerne tànza.

--#234, March 2008¹⁷³

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides phonological information for identifying the main donor dialect of TxAls speakers in Castro's colonies and determining the extent of phonological maintenance of this ancestral dialect in Medina County, Texas. Phonological features of Alsatian are easily distinguishable from SG, although the Alsatian dialect area is not discrete and encompasses local variation. Boas (2009a: 172) points to this difficulty in establishing a specific donor dialect for New Braunfels TxG, in that “identifying particular phonological features with their counterparts in the donor dialects is inherently

¹⁷³ ‘And he went to war—*World War II*—and when he came back, we went to a little dance hall where they had a *music machine*. And he had a bottle of beer and kept looking at me and laughing. And I said to the other woman, other girl, “Who is that standing there at that counter with that beer and keeps looking at me and laughing?” That is the junior H., she said. Ooooh. I had already heard about him, but didn't know him. And afterwards we ate together. I was sixteen. And I married when I was eighteen. And he couldn't dance. And I danced as if it didn't matter to me. And I said, if he wouldn't dance, I wouldn't go out with him. And he learned to dance.’

problematic, because a specific feature is likely to be found in several areas.” This is not as problematic for TxAls, as many phonological features are quite distinct from other TxG dialects. This phonological distinctiveness constitutes the main reason for examining the TxAls phonological inventory for evidence of the preservation of these features. Phonological features were also examined because of their unique property of systematicity and patterning in processes of phonological change, which aid its identification (Sihler 2000: 16).

To preface discussions on the phonological inventory of TxAls, the two Germanic dialects in contact with Alsatian (ALS) are briefly introduced in §4.2 and the main consonantal and vocalic features differentiating ALS from these two dialects are identified. SG is used a reference point for recognizing variation. Subsequently, in §4.3, basic features separating two regional varieties of Alsatian are compared in order to establish Castroville’s ancestral donor dialect. §4.4 compares distinctive ALS features with those produced by TxAls speakers by examining Gilbert’s (1972) data and samples from TxAls speakers collected during this study to identify the degree of retention of these features in TxAls today. §4.5 briefly addresses two phonological developments in TxAls and §4.6 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

To provide a brief overview of ALS phonological features maintained in TxAls, a sample of other lexical items from the *Ellsasser Wordbuch* (EW) highlights major vocalic and consonantal differences between TxAls and SG:

Table 4.1: ALS phonological features in TxAls¹⁷⁴

<i>ALS features</i>	<i>TxAls (EW)</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>English gloss</i>
1. [x] for SG [x,ç]: <i>Milch</i> , <i>Melch</i> [mɪlx, mɛlx]	<i>milich</i> [mɪlɪx]	<i>Milch</i> [mɪlç]	‘milk’
2. [k] for SG [ç]: <i>mankmol</i> [mankmol]	<i>mangmol</i> [maŋmol]	<i>mançmal</i> [mançmal]	‘sometimes’
3. [v] for SG [b], [i:] for SG [aɪ]: <i>bliewa</i> [bli:və]	<i>bliewa</i> [bli:və]	<i>bleiben</i> [blaibən]	‘to stay’
4. trilled apical [r] ¹⁷⁵ for SG [r,ʀ,ʁ]: <i>Kràga</i> [krəgə]	<i>grake</i> [grəkə]	<i>Kragen</i> [kragən]	‘collar’
5. [ʃ] for SG [s]: <i>Sàmschtig</i> [səmsʃtɪk]	<i>Samstig</i> [səmsʃtɪk]	<i>Samstag</i> [samstak]	‘Saturday’
6. [ɔ] for SG [a]: <i>sàga</i> [səgə]	<i>sage</i> [səgə]	<i>sagen</i> [sagən]	‘to say’
7. [a] for SG [ɛ]: <i>Harz</i> [harts]	<i>harz</i> [harts]	<i>Herz</i> [herts]	‘heart’
8. [y] for SG [au]: <i>Krüt</i> [kryt]	<i>krüt</i> [kry:t]	<i>Kraut</i> [kraut]	‘cabbage’
9. [y ^ə] for SG [u:]: <i>güat</i> [gy ^ə t]	<i>güet</i> [gy ^ə t]	<i>gut</i> [gu:t]	‘good’
10. [i ^ə] for SG [y:]: <i>griasa</i> [gri ^ə sə]	<i>griese</i> [griəsə]	<i>grüssen</i> [gry:sən]	‘to greet’
11. [ɔi] for SG [au]: <i>boija</i> [bəijə]	<i>boije</i> [bəijə]	<i>bauen</i> [bauən]	‘to build’

¹⁷⁴ ALS features are based on Keller (1961), Philippe & Bothorel-Witz (1989), and Waterman (1991) and ALS lexical items are from Nisslé (2008). SG lexical items and their meanings and phonetic transcription are from Langenscheidt (1995).

¹⁷⁵ The EW describes the [r] as a “lightly rolled *r* as in some dialects of German or Spanish,” which describes the apical trill characteristic of ALS. This will be represented by the symbol [ř] (also used by Gilbert) to distinguish the allophone from the phoneme /r/ and to facilitate comparisons with Gilbert’s (1972) data.

Four ALS consonantal and three ALS vocalic phonological features identified above are analyzed in this chapter:

1. use of the velar fricative [x] in all environments (1),
2. spirantization of intervocalic /b/ > [v, β] (2),
3. apical trilled [r] (4),
4. fortis and lenis distinctions within the set of labial, alveolar, and velar stops, e.g., [g] vs. [ḡ] (4),
5. backing and lowering of Middle High German (MHG) *ë* > *a* (7),
6. retention of MHG long vowels [i:, y:] (8),
7. retention of MHG diphthongs *ie* [ie, ia] and *uo* [ye, ya], as evidenced by rising diphthongs (9, 10).

Items (10) and (11) in the table above illustrate the unrounding of rounded front vowels and diphthongs also found in other German dialects. Item (3) is discussed within the context of ALS representations of SG [ç]. Item (5) shows the palatization of SG /s/ and Item (6), the velarization of SG /a/. To form a basis for discussing these differences, the following sections provide background information on the possible ALS donor dialect(s) of TxAls.

4.2 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF EUROPEAN ALSATIAN (ALS)

To establish a phonological basis of European Alsatian with which to compare Texas Alsatian features of Medina County, several phonological descriptions of European Alsatian were consulted (e.g., Keller 1961, Matzen 1973, Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989, Vassberg 1989,¹⁷⁶ Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003, etc.). Most descriptive work has centered on the Lower Rhine Alsatian dialect, mainly due to the intense contact situations with Franconian¹⁷⁷ and French. However, several studies have focused on

¹⁷⁶ Vassberg (1989) provides descriptions from the *Encyclopedie de l'Alsace* (1985) and Matzen (1973), both of which were unfortunately unavailable to me.

¹⁷⁷ Keller (1961: 119) states that “what characterizes the Alsatian dialectal scene is the degree in which it has been subjected to infiltration by northern, Franconian forms,” which explains the major isoglosses running west to east and bending northward as they cross the Rhine into Baden.

forms of Upper Rhine Alsatian, notably Philipp & Bothorel-Witz' (1989) description based on the dialect of Colmar, which represents the northernmost boundary of the Upper Rhine Department, and Vassberg's (1989)¹⁷⁸ attitudinal language study in Mulhouse in the south.

Alsatian-French dictionaries (Adolf 2006, Nisslé 2008) and the textbook *J'apprends l'Alsacien avec Tommy et Louise* (Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003) of the Mulhouse dialect used in elementary schools with its appended grammatical and phonetic charts is also consulted for comparison. Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) adds an interesting additional perspective of a prescriptive text. The textbook and dictionaries present a phonetic inventory which focus on problematic sounds for their target audience, in this case native French speakers (in the textbook, a French word is provided next to each phoneme in addition to the Alsatian word).

The following sections briefly introduce other German dialects in contact with ALS in the Alsace, using a comparative description of consonantal features to separate and distinguish ALS from these related dialects and SG. Illustration 4.1 provides an overview of the German and Romance dialects in contact:

¹⁷⁸ Vassberg's (1989) description is one of the broader dialects of Low Alemannic, which also emphasizes the variation found within the political borders of the Alsace.

Illustration 4.1: The Alsatian speech area (Matzen 1973)



- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Lothringian Rhine-Franconian | 7. Alemannic speech island in Romance area |
| 2. Palatinate Rhine-Franconian | 8. Romance enclave of Orbey |
| 3. Southern boundary of the NHG diphthongization | 9. Isogloss bundle separating Upper and Lower Alsatian |
| 4. Lower Alsatian Low Alemannic | 10. Upper Alsatian Low Alemannic |
| 5. Low Alemannic influenced by Franconian (Strasbourg) | 11. Isophonic border of the Sundgau |
| 6. Romance enclave in upper Bruche valley | 12. Romance enclave of Montreux |
| | 13. Romance enclave of Courtavon-Levoncourt |
| | 14. High Alemannic (Sundgau) |

4.2.1 Regional German dialects in contact with Alsatian

There are three regional *German*¹⁷⁹ dialects (Matzen 1973, Phillip & Bothorel-Witz 1989, Vassberg 1989) within the political boundaries of the Alsace: (1) Rhine-Franconian, in northern political border areas to Germany and French provinces, (2) High Alemannic in the southern border area to Switzerland, and (3) *Alsatian*, a Low Alemannic variety,¹⁸⁰ which spans most of the Alsace and is bound by the Vosges Mountains in the West and to the East, by the Rhine River, which forms its eastern border with Germany. The dialect areas in contact have not changed significantly since the mid-nineteenth century (see Bohnenberger 1953). Whereas the Franconian dialects once influenced the Alsatian dialect to a higher degree (Keller 1961: 119), French¹⁸¹ is gradually taking on this role. Influence from contact with HAlem in the south must also be considered.

4.2.2 Alsatian (LAlem): distinguishing consonantal features

The following consonantal features based on Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 315-18) and depicted in Illustration 4.2 distinguish Alsatian (LAlem) from the Rhine-Franconian dialects of the Lorraine and Palatinate in the northern Alsace and High Alemannic (HAlem) in its southern region (1989: 313). A further comparison is made to Standard German (SG).

¹⁷⁹ There are also two Romance dialects in contact on the western and southern border of the *Alsace*, *Lorraine* and *Franc-Comtois*.

¹⁸⁰ Low Alemannic spills over political borders into Baden. Bohnenberger (1953) defines an extended area for Low Alemannic with a division between a western half (Upper Rhine Alemannic) and an eastern half (Bodensee Alemannic).

¹⁸¹ For a discussion of more recent French influence on Alsatian, see Vassberg (1993), Broadbridge (2000), Bister-Broosen (1996b, 1997).

- i. /p/ ~ /pf/: Alem [pfert] / Fran [pert] SG *Pferd* ('horse') (Keller 1961: 118, Philipp & Bothorel Witz 1989: 315-317). The [pf] is characteristic of the LAlem and HAlem dialect, and extends completely through the Alsace along the *Selz-Lauter* isogloss, dividing Alsatian from the Franconian of the Lorraine and Palatinate. It is also a feature shared by SG.
- ii. /x/ ~ [k] or [ç] (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 315): There are two distinctions to be made here.
 - The *Sundgau-Bodensee* isogloss: HAlem [xmt] ~ LAlem [kmt], SG *Kind* ('child'). LAlem distinguishes itself from HAlem to the south in that it uses [k] versus [x] for initial [k-] lexica, which is a feature it shares with SG.
 - Lower Rhine Alsatian [ç] ~ Upper Rhine Alsatian [ix, ɛx], SG *ich* ('I'). There is a further shift of [ç] to [x] in Upper Rhine Alsatian just south of Colmar, which distinguishes it from Lower Rhine Alsatian and SG (see §4.3 for a discussion of Upper and Lower Rhine Alsatian). Colmar is situated at the limit of where the *ich*-sound [ç] occurs for SG [x]. This is not a feature shared with SG.

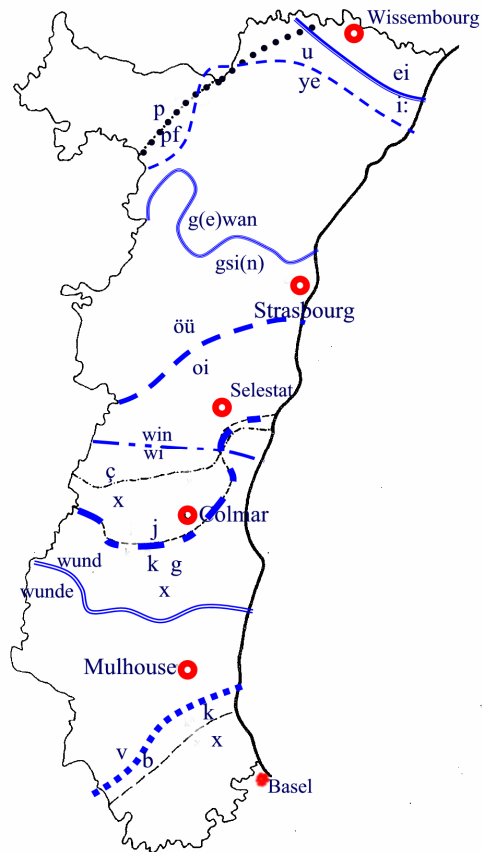
The remaining LAlem features are also NOT shared with SG:

- iii. Intervocalic /b/ ~ [v, β]: LAlem [ova] / HAlem [oba], SG *oben* ('above'). This isogloss runs just above the [x] - [ç] isogloss, but below Mulhouse and Altkirch, forming a further distinction between LAlem and HAlem.
- iv. "Weakening"¹⁸² (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 315) of intervocalic /g/ ~ sometimes [k], sometimes [j]: [mɑ:kə, mɑ:jə,] ~ [mɑ:gɪn], SG *Magen* ('stomach'). A shift of intervocalic /g/ to [k] characterizes Upper Rhine Alsatian and the dialect of Baden, and a shift to [j], Lower Rhine Alsatian. These two allophones distinguish LAlem from HAlem and SG.
- v. Three "voiceless lenis stops [p, t, k]" (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 316) (or according to Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003: 4, [p̥, t̥, k̥]) for the SG series /p, t, k, b, d, g/, e.g. [pallə] versus [bellɪn], SG *bellen* ('to bark'), etc.

The next section identifies vocalic features which distinguish ALS from SG and its northern contact dialect, Rhine-Franconian.

¹⁸² This can be connected to a lenition process affecting some German dialects in the interior of Germany, often termed the *Binnendeutsche Konsonantenschwächung* 'Inner-German consonant weakening' (Russ 1994:7).

Illustration 4.2: Major Alsatian¹⁸³ Isoglosses



MAJOR ISOGLOSSES:

ei / i	eis / is SG <i>Eis</i> 'ice'
u / ye	bruder / brüeder SG <i>Bruder</i> 'brother'
p / pf	[pfunt] / [punt] SG <i>Pfund</i> 'pound'
öü / oi	[bloi] / [blöü] SG <i>blau</i> 'blue'
ç / x	[pyç] / [pyx] SG <i>Bauch</i> 'belly'
j / k, g, x	[mɔ:jə] / [mɔ:gə], [mɔ:kə], [mɔ:xə] SG <i>Magen</i> 'stomach'
v / b	[ove] / [obe] SG <i>oben</i> 'above'
k / x	[[kɪnt] / [xɪnt] SG <i>Kind</i> 'child'
g(e)wan/gsi(n)	SG <i>gewesen</i> (past part.) 'been'
win/wi	SG <i>Wein</i> 'wine'
wund/wunde	SG <i>Wunde</i> 'wound'

¹⁸³ The map is based on Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 317). I have added isoglosses and examples from Vassberg (1989: 33) based on Matzen (1973).

4.2.3 Alsatian (LAlem): distinguishing vocalic features

Alsatian differs from SG mainly in its vowels (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 316). The following vocalic features¹⁸⁴ are shared by speakers in the Upper Rhine and in some parts of the Lower Rhine and are especially salient to the discussion of Texas Alsatian:

- i. Middle High German (MHG) long vowels /i:/, /y:/, /u:/ have not been diphthongized in LAlem as in SG:
LAlem. [is, hys] (MHG *îs*, *hûs*) = SG [ais, haus] ('ice, house').
- ii. MHG diphthongs *ie* [iə] and *uo* [ye]¹⁸⁵ have not been monophthongized as in SG:
LAlem [hiəta, fyətər] = SG [hytən, fütər] ('to watch over, fodder.')
- iii. MHG *ë* [ɛ] has undergone backing and lowering¹⁸⁶ to [a],
unlike SG:
LAlem [ʃpak] = SG [ʃpɛk] ('bacon').

This last vocalic feature is perhaps the most distinctive feature dividing ALS from SG and neighboring dialects. ALS also belongs to the large area in which front rounded vowels and diphthongs are unrounded (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 318). For example, SG *Kühe* [kyə] ('cows') becomes *Kieh* [ki:] in ALS, or SG *Tür* [ty:ʁ] ('door') is ALS *Teera* [tɛ:ra] (Nisslé 2008) or TxAls *Derr* [dɛ:r].

Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 314) provide the following inventory of vocalic phonemes for the Upper Rhine city of Colmar:

¹⁸⁴ The Upper Rhine area belongs to Area V as presented in the *Encyclopedie de l'Alsace* (1983: 2327; 2337-2338), whose vowel features are described as follows:

- 1) No Bavarian ([blarvə], etc.) diphthongs: [bli:və] SG *bleiben* 'stay';
- 2) palatalization of MHG *ū* and *uo*: [syfa] *saufen* 'to drink'; [fy:ətər] SG *Futter* 'fodder';
- 3) survival of diphthong *ie*: [hi:ətə], [hr:ətə] SG *hüten* 'watch over';
- 4) opening of MHG *ë* (ɛ) > [a] as in [ʃpak] SG *Speck* 'bacon.'

¹⁸⁵ Palatalization of MHG *ū* and *uo* (see previous footnote).

¹⁸⁶ This was referred to as "opening" in Vassberg (1989: 37-39).

- i. eight short stressed vowels: / i, ɪ, ɛ, a, y, ʊ, ɔ, ʌ /,
- ii. eight long stressed vowels: / i:, ɪ:, ɛ:, a:, y:, ʊ:, ɔ:, ʌ: /,
- iii. two unstressed vowels: / ə, i /,
- iv. two rising diphthongs: / iə, yə /,
- v. closing diphthongs: / ai, ei, ɔi /.

Their description emphasizes the difference in length (short, long) of both stressed and unstressed tense and lax vowels,¹⁸⁷ which Phillip & Bothorel-Witz (1989) differentiate via use of the colon. Adolf (2006) also emphasizes the length of particular vowels in his description of the sounds of Alsatian: “sometimes with *ii*, sign of vowel length: *liide*, SG *leiden* (‘to suffer’). Many Alsatian texts utilize this doubling of a vowel to denote length. In addition to the high tense vowel [i:], the lengthened lax back vowel [ɔ:] is often written as *kàà*, SG *gehabt*, (past part. ‘had’) to denote length. Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 316) designate this lengthening (:) as a phonemic difference, which they substantiate with the following lexical pairs:

¹⁸⁷ There is controversy surrounding the definition of “tense and lax,” as to whether to express this difference in vowel quality as muscular (ATR, -ATR, Wiese 2000: 20) or as decentralized/centralized. The former is used here as a basis for discussion.

Table 4.2: Vowel lengthening in URA

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Colmar</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>English</i>
/i/ ~ /i:/'	is ~ i:s	Eis ¹⁸⁸ ~ Eisen	ice ~ iron
/y/ ~ /y:/'	hys ~ ly:s	Haus ~ Laus	house ~ louse
/ɪ/ ~ /ɪ:/'	mɪ t ~ ʃtr:l	mit ~ Stiel	with ~ handle
/ɛ/ ~ /ɛ:/'	rɛtə ~ lɛ:p	reden ~ Löwe	to talk ~ lion
/a/ ~ /a:/'	palə ~ ma:l	bellen ~ Mehl	to bark ~ flour
/ʊ/ ~ /ʊ:/'	hʊnt ~ ʊ:r	Hund ~ Ohr	dog ~ ear
/ɔ/ ~ /ɔ:/'	Rɔs ~ tɔ:r	Roß ~ Tor	horse ~ gate

After reviewing the examples above, it is evident that only the first example for /i/ demonstrates a true minimal pair proving separate phonemes. The second pair for /y/ is a near minimal pair, which is close enough to argue for this dichotomy.¹⁸⁹ Subsequent pairs in the list such as “palə ~ ma:l” seem to suggest this might be so. The lax /a/ included in Philipp & Bothorel-Witz’ inventory description is also not included above, but there is evidence for this same phonemic distinction provided by Nisslé 2008, who lists both *àsa* [a:sa] (‘by herself/itself’) and *àss* [as] (‘than’). On the other hand, Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003), designate only /i/ and /i:/' as separate phonemes (see below).¹⁹⁰ In TxAls, the minimal pair for *ice: iron* does not exist: *ice* and *iron* [i:s] are homonyms (see

¹⁸⁸ The digitalized Wenker sentence #4, *Der gute alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durch's Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen*, shows an isogloss running roughly along the Rhine for *Eis* between [ɪs] in the Alsace and [i:s] in Baden.

¹⁸⁹ Nisslé (2008) also infers a short and long stressed [y] in these lexical items: *Hüss* ~ *Lüss*.

¹⁹⁰ This might be indicative of an influence from High Alemannic in the Mulhouse region. High Alemannic was especially resistant to certain vocalic changes such as vowel lengthening between the medieval and modern period (Kyes 1989: 154).

Gilbert 1972, Map 5). As this pair indicates, both tense and lax vowels in stressed position are frequently lengthened in TxAls in lieu of the short stressed vowel.¹⁹¹

For the consonantal features of URACol, Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 318) identify the following phonemes and allophones:

- i. Voiceless lenis /p, t, k/ occur in all positions and correspond to the SG series /p, t, k/ and /b, d, g/;
- ii. /g/ is sometimes [k], sometimes [j] intervocalically, depending upon the preceding vowel;
- iii. both /ç/ and /x/;
- iv. [v] for intervocalic /p/; and
- v. the younger generation's use of [ʃ] for /s/ after front vowels.

To make a broad comparison between the URA dialect spoken around the northern Upper Rhine city of Colmar as described above and the URA dialect spoken around the southern Upper Rhine city of Mulhouse (the donor dialect of the majority of Texas Alsatians), I consulted Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003). These authors provide the following descriptive inventory of vowels and consonants for URAMul (2003: 4):

- i. nine vowels: /ɔ, i, e, ε, a, o, u, y, i:/,
- ii. five diphthongs /aɪ, ɔɪ, εɪ, ya (yə),¹⁹² ia/,
- iii. ten consonant phonemes: /b, d, ɡ, f, ʃ, x, h, j, v, ts/,
- iv. two additional consonant clusters: /ʃb, ʃd/.

If one compares this inventory with the URACol inventory above, one detects slight differences between these two cities of the Upper Rhine Department indicative of the variation occurring even within short distances (and points to the inherent difficulties

¹⁹¹ This is perhaps indicative of a continuation of an internal process of vowel lengthening which affected MHG short vowels in most German dialects (see Reis 1974, Kyes 1989, Page 2006, 2007, etc. for a discussion of conditions and causes for German vowel lengthening).

¹⁹² This is the allophone given by the authors in addition to the phoneme.

involved in creating descriptive grammars of regional dialects). Waterman (1991: 191) describes the following articulation for the set of stops in Alemannic dialects:

Determining the precise phonetic quality and the distribution patterns for the labial, alveolar, and velar stops in the various Alemannic dialects is a complicated task. As a rule of thumb one may say that, though these sounds are unaspirated and voiceless (at least relatively so) throughout the entire Alemannic area, their pronunciation in the upper (southern) dialects tends to be decidedly fortis, whereas the lower (northern) dialects employ mainly, sometimes exclusively, a lenis articulation.

Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) cite voiceless lenis stops [p, t, k] for URACol¹⁹³ and Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) the voiceless [b̥, d̥, ɡ̊]. This slight difference in using the alternative stops /b, d, ɡ/ is most likely due to the convergence of HAlem¹⁹⁴ and LAlem features in the Mulhouse area, as illustrated by the *Wage/Waje* isogloss running just below Colmar indicating variations of [g], [k], and [x] for intervocalic /ɡ/ for URAMul. Complete reliance on the Colmar description for analyzing TxAls is therefore problematic, and necessitates the inclusion of additional sources. To further illustrate the complexity of the situation, one TxAls speaker offered a minimal pair for *dier* ('expensive') ~ *tier* ('animal'), which is also recorded by Nisslé (2008). This minimal pair would indicate the phonemic status of both [d] and [t] for this speaker, but it is unclear whether this holds true for the majority of TxAls speakers. Further data collection targeting the use of voiced ~ voiceless stops in TxAls would be necessary to fully investigate the possibility of their phonemic status and constitutes a possible topic for future research.

This section has provided descriptions of vocalic and consonantal features which distinguish the Alsatian dialect from neighboring dialects in contact and from SG or

¹⁹³ Adolf's (2006) dictionary of LRA to the north also notes only voiceless stops [p, t, k].

¹⁹⁴ Russ (1989: 371) describes both fortis /p, t, k/ and lenis /b, d, ɡ/ plosives for HAlem centered around Zurich. See also Goblich (1994) for a discussion of consonant strength in Upper German dialects.

standard-near dialects. The Alsatian dialect is actually sustained by several regional varieties which can be roughly divided into Upper and Lower Rhine Alsatian (see Illustration 4.2). The next section briefly describes the main differences between the two.

4.3 REGIONAL ALSATIAN VARIETIES: UPPER AND LOWER RHINE ALSATIAN¹⁹⁵

Visiting TxAls speakers on one of their first trips to the Alsace noted differences between Alsatian regional dialects as they traveled from Ensisheim northward through Colmar to Strasbourg:

*vo mir noch Strossburgh kome sin isch der himmel nim
blau g'sey ehr isch bluee wore und sie han nit mittag
g'asse sie han mittau g'asse awer doch sin mir guet fort
kome mit anander . . .*¹⁹⁶

–B.T., handwritten Speech 1976

There are enough varieties of Alsatian as to make a generalized description inadequate, in fact, as many varieties as there are speakers, villages, or cities (Matzen 1973). However, Matzen (1973) notes a process of unification and convergence towards Strasbourg Alsatian and Mulhouse Alsatian centered around these two cultural and economically influential cities. Due to a bundle of isoglosses running west-east across the middle of the Alsace just north of Colmar (#9 in Illustration 4.1), one can speak of two “types” or regional varieties of Alsatian (Keller 1961: 119, Vassberg 1989: 34):

¹⁹⁵ For detailed descriptions of the Alsatian dialect, see Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989), Vassberg (1989), *Encyclopedie de l'Alsace*, Vol. 4 (1983), Hessini (1981), Beyer & Matzen (1970), Keller (1961).

¹⁹⁶ ‘When we got to Strasbourg, the sky wasn’t *blau*, it became *bluee*, and they didn’t eat *mittag*, they ate *mittau*. But still we understood each other just fine . . .’

- i. a southern variety of Alsatian, denoted by Matzen (1973) as *oberelsässisches Niederalemannisch* ('Upper Alsatian Low Alemannic') (#10), or what I shall term Upper Rhine Alsatian (URA), represented here by the Mulhouse and Colmar dialects of the *Haut-Rhin* department, and
- ii. a northern variety centered around, but not including, Strasbourg, of the *Bas-Rhin*, which Matzen (1973) terms *unterelsässisches Niederalemannisch* ('lower Alsatian Low Alemannic'), which will be referred to as Lower Rhine Alsatian (LRA)(#4).

Most of the isoglosses generally distinguishing ALS vowel features from neighboring dialects lie well to the north of Strasbourg, which means that most vowel features are true for most of the Alsace. Other major phonological and morphosyntactic isoglosses which separate URA from LRA are shown below:

(4.1) Isoglosses separating URA / LRA:

- a. *ach*-Laut [x] / *ich*-Laut [ç]: in LRA, both voiceless fricatives appear in complementary distribution; in URA, the *ach*-Laut occurs in all positions.
- b. *Wi* / *Win*, SG *Wein* ('wine').
- c. *Männle* / *Männel*, SG *Männlein* ('little man').
- d. *Wage* / *Waje*, SG *Wagen* ('car'): SG intervocalic [g] has URA variants [k] and [x]; in LRA, it weakens to [j].

The last of these major isoglosses (d.) actually runs just below Colmar, illustrating differences between the URA of Colmar and Mulhouse. Another major isogloss, the *Wunde* / *Wund* ('wound') isogloss, indicating the retention of MHG unstressed final *-e* in the Mulhouse area, distinguishes the Mulhouse dialect from Colmar. Differences such as these should be considered when analyzing TxAls, and require a separate designation. The URA around Colmar will be identified as URACol and that around Mulhouse as URAMul where pertinent.

An advent calendar published in the Alsace (Bisch 2006) conveniently juxtaposes these two “types” as it designates two variations for each of the day’s chosen object (Example 4.2). A description of the calendar names these two variations *haut-rhinoise* (‘Upper Rhenish’) and *bas-rhinoise* (‘Lower Rhenish’).¹⁹⁷

(4.2) Calendar variations for URA/ LRA:

- a. *e Vegala* / *e Vejele*, SG *Vögel* (‘bird’);
e Glàskugla / *d Glàsköjel* (‘ornament’) (4.1d above),
- b. *Kàmi* / *Kàmin* (‘fireplace’) (4.1b),
- c. *e Glocka* / *e Glock* (‘bell’),
- d. *e Wiehnachtsbàum* / *e Wiwnàchtsbaum* (‘Christmas tree’),
- e. *dr Starn* / *dr Stern* (‘star’),
- f. *s’ Chrìstkindla* / *s’ Chrisch(t)kindl* (‘Christ child’) (4.1c)
- g. *Mannala* / *Männele* (‘little man’).¹⁹⁸

In the following discussions on phonological features (and later, morphosyntactic features in Chapter Five) maintained by Alsatian speakers in Medina County, it will become evident that the variations given for URA above are representative of that produced by TxAls speakers. The next section will highlight vocalic and consonantal features previously described representative of the URAMul dialect transplanted to the Texas frontier based on Gilbert’s (1972) *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German*. This serves the dual purpose of (1) confirming URAMul as the main donor dialect of TxAls, and (2) demonstrating the preservation of major features of the ancestral dialect in TxAls.

¹⁹⁷ <http://web.mac.com/sierentz/iWeb>: “Les 25 fenêtres s’ouvrent sur des images sous-titrées en dialecte, versions **haut-rhinoise** et **bas-rhinoise** grâce au concours du professeur Raymond Matzen.”

¹⁹⁸ A further observation can be made from the items in (4.2). Certain features (in descriptions of the dialect found in the latter half of the 20th century) previously associated with the Strasbourg dialect (Rhine Franconian *LAlem*, Illustration 4.1, #5) are marked as features for LRA, indicating some diffusion and convergence of Strasbourg features southward, i.e.:

- a. the retention of MHG *ē* (4.2e)
- b. the use of /j/ after front vowels—also found in Colmar (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 318),
- c. the diminutive ending *-le* and *-el* (or *-l*) (see 4.2f, g).

4.4 TEXAS ALSATIAN

This section serves the descriptive purpose of identifying URAMul phonological features that have been preserved in TxAls, as well as pointing to some internal developments in TxAls which have most likely occurred as a result of contact with English or other TxG dialects. As previously noted in §4.1, Gilbert (1972) provides invaluable phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical data on the Alsatian dialect as spoken in Medina County in the mid-20th century. Many of these maps which targeted morphosyntactic or lexical features simultaneously provide important phonological data on TxAls. ALS vocalic and consonantal features described earlier in the chapter also typical of URAMul are compared with TxAls as recorded by Gilbert (1972) and the responses to Gilbert's items by participants in this study.

4.4.1 Preservation of Alsatian vocalic features

It is ALS *vocalic* features which most differentiate TxAls from the more dialect-leveled TxG dialect and SG, many of which can be easily identified from viewing Gilbert's linguistic maps. The following sections discuss the three ALS vocalic features discussed in 4.2.3 which also shared by URAMul: (i.) the opening of MHG $\ddot{e} > a$, (ii.) the retention of the MHG long vowels \hat{i} and \hat{u} [i:, y:], and (iii.) the retention of MHG diphthongs (rising and closing diphthongs).¹⁹⁹

4.4.1.1 Backing and lowering of MHG \ddot{e}

One of the most noticeable vocalic features which often interferes with comprehension when listening to TxAls is the maintenance of the URA /a/ and its

¹⁹⁹ Russ (1989: 370) refers to these as ingliding and outgliding diphthongs, respectively.

allophones, [a, ɑ, ɔ, ə] in environments where one would usually find [ɛ] in SG, i.e. the characteristic described above as the backing and lowering of MHG *ë*. Consider the following examples:

Table 4.3: Backing and lowering of MHG *ë*²⁰⁰

<i>SG</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>URA</i>	<i>TxAls</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
1. er	[ɛ:ɐ]	[ar]	[ar]	‘he’
2. essen	[ɛsən]	[asɑ]	[a:sə]	‘to eat’
3. die Feder	[fe:dɐ]	[fadrɑ]	[fɔ:dr]	‘feather’
4. nett	[nɛt]	[nat]	[nat]	‘nice’
5. der Speck	[ʃpɛk]	[ʃpak]	[ʃpak]	‘bacon’
6. sterben	[ʃtɛɪbən]	[ʃtarvɑ]	[ʃtɔ:rva]	‘to die’
7. wegnehmen	[ve:kne:mən]	[ɑ'va:kna:mɑ]	[ɑ'va:kna:mɑ]	‘to take away’

Participant #234 gave an additional vocabulary lesson that illustrates this feature: “un a scissor is a Scha:r (SG *Schere*), un a Ma:sr (SG *Messer*) a knife . . .”

The Gilbert translation item, “They’re taking it away,” shows the phonological feature of the opening of MHG *ë*, as well as the URA lexical difference in the verbal prefix.²⁰¹ [ɑvak] is the URA prefix equivalent to SG *weg* [vɛk] (‘away’) (Nisslé 2008: 174). [fɔrt] is also listed as a synonymous prefix in Nisslé 2008, but is not listed with the URAMul stem [namɑ] SG *nehmen* (‘to take’).

²⁰⁰ The lexical and phonetic rendering of the items in this and following charts are based on *Langenscheidt* (1995) for SG, *D’Lehrschtuwa: Wärterbuach* (2008) for URA, and *The Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* (1972) and the *Elsasser Wordbuch* (1981) for TxAls.

²⁰¹ This item actually targeted verbal prefixes. The targeted morphosyntactic feature is indicated after the map number and underlined in the case of a phrase or sentence.

The responses of all twenty-seven participants in Gilbert’s study for Medina County are listed in the analysis for this item below. The numbers next to the phonetic transcription represent each participant as coded by Gilbert. If participants produced several variations of the feature targeted, they are noted under each, with subsequent pronunciations in parentheses. The participants in bold type indicate the thirteen Gilbert noted who mentioned Alsatian parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents. Again, only phonemic forms for lax vowels were transcribed in Gilbert’s maps, i.e. [e] includes allophone [ɛ], [u] includes allophone [ʊ], and [o] includes allophone [ɔ], etc.

Table 4.4: ALS /a/ [a, ɑ, ɔ, ə] for SG [ɛ]

Gilbert (1972), Map 94 (Verbal prefixes)
 “They’re taking it away,” SG *Sie nehmen es weg*, URA *Sie namma’s awag*.

	<i>Gilbert (1972):</i> 27	<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	27
vek (SG)	4 , ²⁰² 6, 11, 18	-	
veç	(11), 14, 15	-	
veχ	²⁰³	-	
ə'va:k (URA)	9, 21, 24, 25	239, 249a, 249c, 250, 251, 252a, 253, 254, 255	9
əwak	-	(250)	(1)
vak	23	238, 241, (249c), 251, 257	4 (1)
ə'vek	7, 8, 12, 19, 26	248	1
ə've:k	1	-	
əwək	27	-	
a'veç	3	-	
fort (SG)	5, (8), 10, 13, 17, 20 , (21), 22	-	
fʊřt	-	234, 237, 247, 256, 252b	5
fut	16	240	
fʊ:t	(15)	235	
fört	(20)		
[Not polled: ²⁰⁴		233, 236, 242, 243, 249b, 249d	6]

²⁰² As noted in the introduction, Gilbert informants #4 & 8 indicated that HG and Alsatian were spoken at home.

²⁰³ Informant #2 is designated as one of the most fluent Low German speaker in the entire atlas project by Gilbert (1972: 17). #16 and 22 were also designated as LG speakers.

The Gilbert responses show a great deal of variation for this item, due to the combinatory possibilities of both prefixes (*weg-*, *fort-* ‘away’) and vowels for the item, together with the county-wide sampling of the broader dialect base. In Gilbert’s (1972) data, forms which reflect the disyllabic prefix (*awag-*, *aweg-*) predominate (12/27, or 44%), four of which produced the URA *awag* (‘away’). Comparatively, ten (48%) of the TxAls speakers sampled produced the URA disyllabic prefix with, one of which produced the SG [ɛ] response [ə’vek], an admixture of SG and URA forms. Note also the forms [əwək] and [əwak], both of which show possible evidence of phonological transference from the similar English form, “away”.²⁰⁵

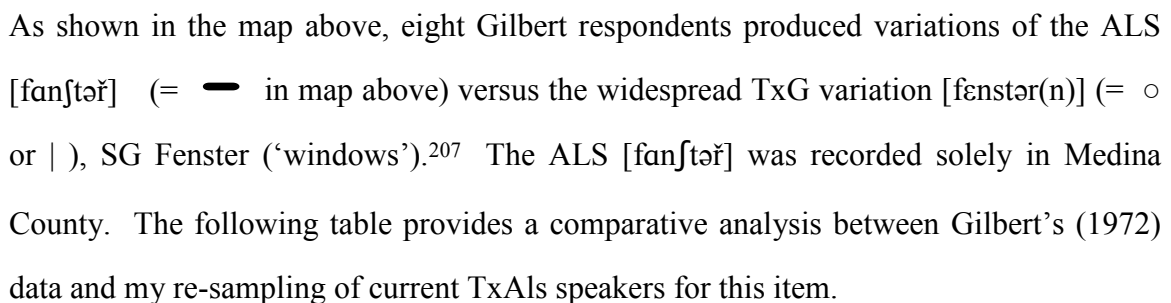
Gilbert’s (1972) questionnaire item “two windows” provides another example of this distinctive vocalic feature in contrast to surrounding TxG dialects, i.e. SG/TxG *Fenster* versus URA *Fansteř*. Although plural formation²⁰⁶ is the feature under investigation, the data also shows the backing and lowering of MHG *ĕ* > *a* in TxAls, as in its URA donor dialect. Illustration 4.3 of Gilbert’s Map 61 illustrates the uniqueness of the responses recorded in Medina County (lower right-hand corner) compared with the other thirty-one counties.

²⁰⁴ Unfortunately, this item was located quite far down (#s 84 and 88) on Gilbert’s list. Due to time limitations usually (mental and physical capabilities of the participant), it was occasionally omitted to shorten the task

²⁰⁵ Speaker #250, who produced both [əwak] and [ə’vak], had some difficulty in remembering certain lexical items. He rarely spoke Alsatian, and was visibly tiring at this point.

²⁰⁶ Neither the SG nor URA plural of this word adds a suffix or undergoes a vowel change (see §5.4.3).

Gilbert (1972), Map 61 (Plural formation)



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Table 4.5: MHG $\ddot{e} > a$

Gilbert (1972) Map 61 (Plural formation)
 “two windows” SG *zwei Fenster*, URA *zwei Fanschteř*

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i> 27		<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	27
fa(:)nf̥t(ə)ř (URA)	9, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27	202, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 243, 247, 248, 249a, 249b, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 256, 257	20
fanʃtřa		255	1
fa:nʃtřs		235	1
*fenʃtər	4, 8, 10, 17, 18, 26	241, ²⁰⁸ (236), 242, 249c	3 (1)
fenstər (SG)	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 13		
fenstørn	5, 11, 12 , 14, 15		
fensters	(10), 16, 22		
Unknown:		233, 240	2

Fourteen of the fifteen speakers from this study produced the URA [a]. At this point, it is interesting to observe the thirteen participants and their responses in Gilbert’s study who specified Alsatian ancestors. The eight speakers #s 9, 19-21, 23-25, and 27 in Eastern Medina County consistently produce Alsatian features which indicate fluency in the ancestral language. The five speakers #s 4, 7, 8, 12, and 18 mention exposure to TxAls in the home, as well as High or Low German. Their responses here and in further examples show evidence of dialect-mixing, as with [fɛnʃtər], where the SG [ɛ] is produced, but with the Alsatian [ʃ]. These five speaker responses will continue to be shown in boldface, but are also *italicized* to facilitate comparison with the first group.

²⁰⁸ Special circumstances surrounding #241 might serve to explain his production of this “mixed” form. He has had formal education in German, lived in Germany, and currently lives in Europe.

The next section examines a second vocalic feature that has been maintained by TxAls speakers, the retention of MHG long vowels *î* and *û* [i(:), y:].

4.4.1.2 Retention of MHG long vowels

The isogloss for the diphthongization of MHG long vowels *î* and *û*, e.g. SG [ai] and [au] respectively, lies in the northernmost region of the Alsace (see Illustration 4.2, #3). The fronted [y:] for MHG *û* predominates in URAMul, as illustrated by the lexical items in Table 4.6:

Table 4.6: Retention of MHG long vowels *î* and *û*

<i>SG / gloss</i>	<i>SG diphthongs</i>	<i>URA</i>	<i>TxAls</i>
mein ‘my’	[main]	[mi]	[mi:, mini]
der Wein ‘wine’	[vain]	[vi:]	[vi:]
das Eis ‘ice’	[ais]	[is]	[i:s]
das Haus ‘house’	[haus]	[hys]	[hy:s]
das Kraut ‘cabbage’	[kʁaut]	[kryt]	[křy:t, gřy:t]

Gilbert’s translation item “my head” SG *mein*²⁰⁹ *Kopf* targeted the production of the SG diphthong [ai], as did the item “icicles” SG *Eiszapfen*. Gilbert participant responses for “my head” are noted below with a comparative sampling from this study:

²⁰⁹ The Gilbert participants used [mi:] characteristic of the Alsace south of Straßburg, as mapped for the Wenker sentence #14, *Mein* liebes Kind bleib hier unten stehn, die Gänse beißen dich tot. The three participants who used [mi:n] show a correlation to the isogloss cutting above Straßburg.

Table 4.7: ALS [i] for SG [ai]

Gilbert (1972) Map 25 (Diphthong [ai])
 “my head” SG *mein Kopf*, ALS *mi Kopf*

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i> 27		<i>Roesch (2009)</i>	27
mi(:) (ALS)	9, 19, 21, 25, 27	202, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 241, 243, 247, 248, 249a, 249b, 249c, 249d, 250, 251, 254, 255, 252a, 252b, 256, 257	25
mi:n	2, ²¹⁰ 15, 16, 22	-	
mini	-	233, 253	2
main (SG)	1, 3, 4 , 5, 6, 10, 11, 12 , 13, 14, 17, 18 , 20 , (21), 24 , 26	(249a)	(1)
mai	7, 8	-	
Not polled:	23	-	

Five of the eight Gilbert participants in Table 4.7 who were assumed to be fairly fluent TxAls speakers produced the Alsatian form [mi:], one was not polled, and the remaining two produced the SG [main]. Speakers who produced the SG form above produced the SG form (4, 12, 18) or a variation (7, 8) which included the diphthong [ai], but not the final *-n*, indicative of the ALS form.

There is no phrase within Gilbert’s maps which focuses upon the SG vowel diphthong *au* to illustrate the ALS retention of the palatized MHG [y:]. However, two items targeting lexical variation for “cabbage” and “a stomach ache” show the use of

²¹⁰ This is the Low German speaker mentioned in Gilbert’s (1972) notes on participants. It is evident here and in other examples that Low German and Alsatian share certain vowel features.

[y(:)] by Medina County participants. Table 4.8 shows the responses for the item “cabbage:”

Table 4.8: ALS [y:] for SG [au]

Gilbert (1972), Map 102 (Lexical variation)
“cabbage“ SG *Kohl*,²¹¹ URA *s' Krüüt*

	<i>Gilbert (1972): 27</i>	<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	<i>27</i>
křy:t (URA)	9, 19, 23, 27	202, 235, 237, 240, 241, 243, 247, 248, 249a, 249c, 252a, 252b, 256	13
gřy(:) ^[ə] t	21, 24, 25	234, 236, 238, 239, 249d, 251, 254, 255, 257	9
syřkři:t	-	253	1
syrgrut	20	-	
ko:l (SG)	(1), 2, 7, 11, 12 , 15, 16, 22	-	
kraut	1, 3, 4 , 5, 6, 8 , 10, 13, 14, 17, 18 , (21), 26	-	
Unable to recall:		250	1
[Not polled:		233, 242, 249b	3]

All eight Gilbert participants indicated as probable TxAls speakers (9, 19-21, 23-25, 27) produced the [y(:)] for SG [au] (#20 uses [syr] for *sauer* ‘sour’ when prompted for the translation of “cabbage”). The trilled apical /r/ typical of ALS (usually designated as [ř] in Gilbert’s transcriptions) is noted in the Gilbert (1972) responses for “cabbage,” and was also articulated by all but one of the 2009 TxAls speakers. Note also the variation in the transcription of the lexical variant *křyt* between voiced [g] and voiceless [k]. Also in

²¹¹ The variation *Kraut* seems to have been stigmatized during WWII, when it was used as a demeaning term for the Germans, and is not given in Langenscheidt (1995) as the translation for “cabbage,” unless looked up under the reverse order under “Kraut,” where cabbage is given as the second (b) alternative.

evidence is the next vocalic feature under discussion, the retention of the MHG diphthong *ie* (*y^e*), realized by what Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) characterize as a rising diphthong.

4.4.1.3 Rising and closing diphthongs

The third distinctive vocalic feature includes the retention of MHG diphthongs *ie* and *uo* (*ye*), realized in URA as [iə] SG [y], and [yə] SG [ʊ] (refer to 4.3.3). Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) divide these into two groups, the rising [iə²¹² (ia)²¹³, yə, (ya)/ and closing diphthongs /ai, ei, oi/. They describe closing diphthongs as “best considered to consist of two phonemes,” or biphonemic (1989: 316). One often sees the rising diphthongs written with a raised second element, as in *y^ɔ*, which is utilized in this text to distinguish the rising diphthongs from the long vowel [i:] (represented by the graphemes *ie* in most texts). Table 4.9 shows several examples of rising diphthongs in ALS lexical items:

²¹² Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 316) describe the elements of these two diphthongs as follows: “the first element is usually half-long, the second being close for /iə/ almost an unstressed [ɛ], and for /yə/ it is almost a lightly labialized [œ].” One often sees these rising diphthongs written with a raised second element, as in *y^ɔ*.

²¹³ Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003: 4) add allophones [ia, ya] to [iə, yə].

Table 4.9: Rising and closing diphthongs in ALS

<i>SG</i>	<i>URA</i>	<i>TxAls</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>der Bube</i> [bubɛ]	<i>d'r Büa</i> [by:a]	[by:a, byjə]	‘boy’
<i>die Liebe</i> [li:bə]	<i>d' Liawa</i> [liəβa]	[liʰβə]	‘love’
<i>der Rahm</i> [Ra:m]	<i>d'r Rühm</i> [řy:m]	[řyʰm]	‘cream’
-- (<i>schauen</i>)	<i>lüaga</i> [lyəga]	[lyʰgə]	‘to look’
<i>suchen</i> [zu:xən]	<i>süacha</i> [syəxa]	[syʰxə]	‘to search’
<i>das Mädchen</i> [mætçən]	<i>s' Maidala</i> [maidla]	[mardla]	‘girl’
<i>tausend</i> [tausənt]	<i>toisig</i> [tɔisik]	[ðɔisik]	‘thousand’
<i>neu</i> [noi]	<i>näi</i> [nei]	[nei]	‘new’

Although there was no item which targeted rising or closing diphthongs, Gilbert Map #19 which looked at the production of the SG rounded front vowel /y/ revealed that rising diphthongs were articulated only in Medina County. Table 4.10 substantiates the presence of rising diphthongs in TxAls for the Gilbert (1972) translation item, “sweet potatoes.”

Table 4.10: ALS [y^ə] for SG [y]

Gilbert (1972), Map 19 (Unrounding of rounded vowels)
 “sweet potatoes” SG *Süsskartoffeln*, *Bataten*²¹⁴

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i> 27		<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	27
URA: (rising diphthongs)			
sy ^ə s, si: ^ə sə, sy ^ə si:	9, 19, 20, 21, 24	236, 240, 249a, 249b, 249c	5
zy: ^ə s, zy: ^ə sə, zy: ^ə si	-	235, 241, 243, 247, 248, 249d, 253, 254, 251, 256, 257	11
zi: ^ə si:, zi: ^ə s	23, 25, 27	250, (254)	1 (1)
zy:s (SG)	13		
zi:s, si:s(i)	17, 18, 8	242	1
zy:sə, sy:sə	3, 5, 14		
zi:sə, si:sə	4, 7, 10, 12, 15, 22, 26, (27)		
zø:t, sø:t	2		
zød tufəl	16		
swi:t	(14, 16)		
patha:də(s)		202, 234, 237, (240) (243), (248), 252b	4 (3)
kətɔfɫ		233, 238	2
unknown		252a, 255	2
Not polled:	1, 6, 11	239	1

This particular item spurred speculation among many of interviewees as to an “Alsatian word,” understandable as sweet potatoes were not in the vocabulary of the early Alsatian immigrants. The eight TxAls speakers in Gilbert’s study and this study produced the rising diphthong [yə] and [iə] for the SG [y]. While Gilbert’s speakers

²¹⁴ Most of the participants used [pəte:das] or a close variant in Gilbert’s study. My study revealed the variant [pat^ha:das].

exhibited an almost-even split between [s] and [z] word-initially, none of the sampled speakers in this study used the [s] word-initially. For ALS, Adolf (2006) notes that *s* is “always strong in all positions and never a ‘z’.” There is also no /z/ documented in available descriptions of URA. This trend toward increased use of [z] can perhaps be attributed initially to contact with other TxG dialects, but is likely due to convergence with English, the speakers’ dominant language.

4.4.2 Preservation of consonantal features

Four consonantal features of URAMul are discussed in this section. As in the presentation of TxAls vocalic features, the TxAls description is supported by Gilbert’s (1972) data and a 2009 resampling of his data, supplemented by descriptive sources and additional data obtained from the sociolinguistic interviews. One of the most distinctive consonantal features, which also separates ALS from SG and HAlem, is the spirantization of the SG intervocalic voiced bilabial stop [b] > [v, β]. A feature which further separates the two regional Alsatian dialects, URA and LRA, is the voiceless velar fricative [x] in all environments (Matzen 1973: 112-3) in URA and shared by HAlem. In contrast to SG, a division in environments occurs in the distribution of [x] and [ç], with [x] occurring after back vowels and [ç] occurring elsewhere.²¹⁵ The representation of intervocalic SG [g] also separates URA from LRA: in URA it is variously represented by the allophones [g, k, x] versus LRA [j]. The fourth feature is the realization of /r/, which is described as an apical trill ([r]) in ALS. It is not possible to isolate this as an URA feature from neighboring Germanic dialect regions, as this apical trill is one of several allophones for

²¹⁵ Robinson (2001: 16) defines these environments as follows: [x] occurs after back vowels (long and short): *a, u, o, ɔ*, and the back diphthong *au*; [ç] occurs elsewhere: a) after front vowels (long and short) and diphthongs: *i, e, æ, y, ø, ai, oi*; and b) after the consonants *n, l*, and *r*.

/r/ in German dialects: a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] and uvular trill [ʀ], an apical trill [r], and a glide [ʁ] in syllable-final positions. Descriptions of SG consider the uvular fricative [ʁ] phonemic and do not include the trilled allophones (Fox 1990, Hall 2000, Wiese 2000).²¹⁶ This feature is of particular interest to this study as it seems to be a feature which distinguishes TxAls from other western TxG dialects and SG and has been preserved by most speakers.

In analyzing the above features, it is acknowledged that these dialect areas are not discrete and are constantly changing (e.g., Wiesinger 1982). As Boas (2009a) repeatedly points out in his analyses of New Braunfels Texas German, donor dialect areas are not discrete, and various features are shared by other regional dialects.

4.4.2.1 [v, β]²¹⁷: [b]

The first consonantal feature which has been maintained in TxAls is the ALS fricative [v], also realized by its allophone [β] in URAMul where the intervocalic voiced stop [b] is found in SG, as in the following examples provided by participants:

²¹⁶ Wiese (2000: 8) proposes a uvular approximant, rather than a uvular fricative, to which he assigns phonemic status, represented in his analysis by the symbol [ʀ].

²¹⁷ Often transcribed with the grapheme *v* (English) or *w* (German).

(4.3) <i>TxAls/ALS</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
[ɔ:βə]	Abend	‘evening’
[ɔβər]	aber	‘but’
[byeβə]	Buben	‘boys’
[bli:βə]	bleiben	‘to stay’
[eβəral]	überall	‘everywhere’
[lavə]	Leben	‘life’
[try ^ə βələ]	Trauben	‘grapes’

Gilbert (1972) also notes this spirantization of SG intervocalic [b] in Medina County in the translation task, “two boys,” in Map 65. A resampling of Gilbert’s data by this study’s participants showed the following responses, which are compared with Gilbert’s (1972) data in Table 4.11:

Table 4.11: Spirantization of intervocalic [b]

Gilbert (1972), Map 65 (Plurals of nouns)
“two boys” SG *zwei Jungen* URA *zwei Büä*²¹⁸

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i> 27	<i>Roesch (2009)</i>	27
by:ə (sing.) -	233, 241, 249a	3
by:βə -	236, 252a, 252b, 255	4
bu:βə 4, 18	242	1
bu:bə 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12	-	
by:əβə (URA) 19, 20	237, 240, 243, 247, 248, 249b, 249d, 250, 253, 254, 256	11
by:əbə 21, 23, 24, 25	234, 239	2
by:əβlə 9	238	1
by:(ə)βələ -	(241), 249c, 251, 257	3 (1)
by:əβələs -	235	1
bi:əβlə -	202	1
bi:əblə 27	-	
bi:blə (7)	-	
juŋən (SG) 3, 11, 26	-	
juŋə 14	-	
juŋs 2, 15, 16	-	
juŋəns 1, 13, (15), 17, 22	-	

Other examples taken from the narratives of TxAls speakers in this study illustrate the systematic use of the labial fricative /v/ and [β] in intervocalic environments:

²¹⁸ Nisslé (2008). The EW gives *büie* for “boy,” and Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) show *d’r Büä(-wa)* for the Mulhouse region. In SG, *der Bube* is an acceptable alternative to *der Junge* (‘boy’).

(4.4) Spirantization of SG [b]:

- a. # 239: *Sie hàt kenna ihra Nàma schriewa, àwr dàs isch alles.*
IPA: [si hət kənə iʁə nəmə fʁi:vɑ, ʌβr dəs ɪʃ aləs]
SG: Sie hat ihren Namen schreiben können, aber das ist alles.
‘she could write her name, but that is all.’
- b. #240: *Ei Familia hàt drei junge Büewela kàà, un mir sin gànga eweràll.*
IPA: [a:i fami:liə hət dʁai juŋə byəβələ kə: un mɛʁ sɪn gəŋɑ e:βəʁɔl]
SG: Eine Familie hat drei junge Buben gehabt, und wir sind überall gegangen.
‘one family had three young boys, and we went everywhere.’
- c. #234: *Mi Vàtr isch g’sorwa wu ich sechs Johr àlt g’sè bin.*
IPA: [mi: fə:tr ɪʃ g[to:ʁβɑ βu ɪç sɛks jo:ʁ ɔlt kse: bɪn]
SG: Mein Vater ist gestorben wo ich sechs Jahr alt gewesen bin.
‘my father died when I was six years old.’

The above examples give an indication of the widespread use of the ALS [v, β] in the discourse of Texas Alsatians. The next section investigates the retention of the ALS velar fricative [x] in TxAls.

4.4.2.2 [x] : [ç]

Unlike the preceding feature, there is much variation found in the occurrence of the velar and palatal fricatives [x], and [ç], respectively. The isogloss between [x] (also termed *ach-Laut*) and [ç] (*ich-Laut*) as in URA [pyx]: LRA [pyç]²¹⁹ (‘belly’) separates URA [x] from LRA [ç] (see Illustration 4.2) in all environments. To examine the occurrence of these two fricatives in TxAls, Gilbert’s (1972) item for “milk” was re-sampled. Table 4.12 maps the results of the 2009 re-samplings with Gilbert’s original data collected in Medina County:

²¹⁹ This particular minimal pair supports the argument for [x] and [ç] as two separate phonemes in this dialect.

Table 4.12: URAMul [x] for SG [ç]

Gilbert (1972), Map 26 (Monosyllabic vs. Disyllabic)
 “milk” SG *Milch*, URA *Melch*²²⁰

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i> 27		<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	27
milx (URA)		234, 236, 237, 241, 242, 249a, 249c, 252a, 252b	9 (33%)
miləχ ²²¹	19	-	
miləχ	27	202, 235, 238, 239, 240, 247, 251, 253	8 (30%)
*mila		243, 248, 249b, 249d, 250, 254, 255	7 (26%)
milç (SG)	1, 3, 5, 6, 13, 15, (20), (21), 24	-	
miliç	4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26	256	1 (3.7%)
meiç	17	-	
miltʃ		233	1 (3.7%)
mialk	2, 16, 22	-	
mi:ʔlk	(15)	-	
milk	(5)	257	1 (3.7%)

The Gilbert participants identified as producing URA phonological features fairly consistently (# 9, 20, 21, 23-25, 27), in this case [x], produced SG/TxG [ç] instead of the expected [x]. There was some variation among the current participants in this study, but the *ach-Laut* [x] is predominant in the responses of current TxAls speakers for this item. The high occurrence of [x] in the 2009 data compared with Gilbert’s (1972) data might

²²⁰ Nisslé 2008. The *EW* notes the TxAls word for milk as disyllabic *milich* [milix]. Troxler-Lasseaux et al. provides the lexical item *d’Milch* [milx].

²²¹ It is unclear whether this symbol χ is meant to represent the velar or uvular fricative. Gilbert (1972) only utilizes the one symbol and it must be assumed that this represents the velar fricative. As he notes, phonetic symbols for non-tense, non-low vowels [ɪ, ɛ, ɤ, ʊ, œ, and ɔ] have not been used in transcriptions, but have instead been recorded phonemically. The assumption is that this is also the case for this symbol.

point to the renewed contact with ALS in the late 1970s. Table 4.12 also reveals developments in this lexical item indicative of internal processes of change. The form [mɪlax] produced by 30% of the 2009 informants shows vowel epenthesis between the liquid and fricative. It also shows a tendency (26%) of current TxAls speakers to drop the fricative word-finally (apocope) in ALS [mɪlx, mɛlx] (‘milk’) resulting in [mɪla].

There are other instances, however, where TxAls speakers produce [ç]. One such example is the pronoun [iç], where one would expect to hear URAMul [ɛx]. I have observed that the velar fricative [x] often occurs in unstressed positions, as in Example (3.6) in §3.3, [. . . hən ɛx] (‘have I’) whereas the palatal fricative [ç] seems to occur in stressed positions, as when it precedes *hàn*. When I inquired further into the pronunciation of “I have,” one fluent speaker reported that he produced only the [i] (‘I’) before *hàn* (‘have’). These occurrences could be attributed to contact with the TxG dialects which share the SG complementary distribution of [x] and [ç], unlike the URAMul donor dialect. It also could be specific to this particular environment where the two fricatives [x] and [h] occur together.

The findings surrounding the alternation of the velar and palatal fricatives thus far suggest a variety of explanations for some of the developments highlighted in this particular item. Gilbert’s (1972) data shows a strong tendency in Medina County toward the broad use of the linguistically unmarked (e.g., Campbell & Muntzel 1989, Myers-Scotton 1993a, etc.) palatal fricative in this environment, which could be indicative of a beginning TxG koiné. The current data, however, shows a reappearance of the URA velar fricative in an SG/TxG environment marked for [ç]. It is possible that this feature became socially marked in a positive manner after contact was resumed with the Alsatian homeland and was re-integrated into TxAls. The presence of two forms illustrating the process of epenthesis ([mɪlx→mɪlax]) in both the 1972 and 2009 data and a third stage

involving apocope ([mɪlax→mɪla]) which appears only in the 2009 data also suggest internal processes at work.

An examination of a third feature, the set of stops, in the next section aids in describing the particular preservation and/or developments of this URA feature in Medina County.

4.4.2.3 The set of labial, alveolar, and velar stops

Waterman (1991: 191) points to the complicated patterns connected with the set of unaspirated, voiceless stops in the various Alemannic dialects and makes a distinction between a fortis articulation (p, t, k) in the southern dialects and a lenis articulation (b, d, g) in the northern dialects. Furthermore, the ALS dialect is also characterized by a “weakening” (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 315) of intervocalic [g] realized by several variants separating LRA and URA: [j] is characteristic of LRA,²²² while the allophones [k] and [x] occur in URA. Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) describe only voiceless stops [b, d, g] as noted above, thus defining the allophonic variation as [ġ] and [x].²²³

Considering the variation within URA donor dialect(s), it is not surprising that the distinction between fortis and lenis articulations, e.g., [k] and [g], was extremely difficult to detect in the interviews I conducted.²²⁴ Reviewing Gilbert’s (1972) transcribed items

²²² Phillip & Bothorel-Witz describe the use of [j] and [g] in URACol depending on the preceding vowel: [j] appears intervocalically after lax vowels [ɑ, ɔ, ɛ], and [k] after [i], according to their examples (1989: 318).

²²³ There is some controversy involving the exact phonetic feature involved in the articulation of the stops, as some scholars (e.g. Hall 2000, Wiese 2000) argue for [voice], while others (e.g. Iverson & Salmons 1995) prefer to treat the issue in terms of aspiration, and therefore argue for the feature of [spread glottis]. The phonetic feature of voice is preferred in this discussion.

²²⁴ Transcriptions are always subjective realizations. What I perceived sounded more like [g] than [k]. Expectations of the fieldworker also play a role in perception. If one is not familiar with the Alemannic *luege*, one might think this to be an adaptation of the English word “look.”

given for lexical differences in Example (3.1), intervocalic environments for SG /g/ were consistently transcribed as [k] in the verb *luege* ('to look'):

(4.5): MED 9: [lyəkə mol vi: salə boim ke:t]
 look once how that tree falls
 'look how that tree is falling down.'

Current participants produced something similar to this intervocalic [k] variant when asked to translate Gilbert's item, "Look how that tree is falling down."

(4.6)
 #234: [ly:˘gə mol vi: d' boim umake:t]
 #239: [ly:əgə mol vi: salə boim u:mke:ja tʰy:ət]
 #254a: [lyk vi sala bəim kʰe:t]

In Gilbert's (1972:1-2) analysis of plosives in the intervocalic environment in the beginning summary of linguistic differences between TxG and SG, he also points to tenseness in distinguishing [p, t, k] from [b, d, g]:

For many speakers [p, t, k] lose their aspiration in the specified environments (intervocalically). [p, t, k] are voiced, but remain tense, intervocalically, i.e., only tenseness serves to differentiate [p] from [b], [t] from [d], and [k] from [g] in this position. This rule holds for many speakers; for a few informants, the rule is generalized to all environments...and final non-tense stops are voiced, unlike Standard German.

The articulation of labial, alveolar, and velar stops shows a great deal of variation in TxG in general, as also observed in TxAls. The next section examines the occurrence of the apical trill in TxAls, a feature which distinguishes it from many of the western TxG dialects.

4.4.2.4 Apical trill /r/

Considering the fairly frequent contact with TxG over a long period of time, the use of the apical trill /r/ in Castroville Alsatian can be considered another example of phonological maintenance of the Alsatian donor dialect. Adolf (2006) notes in his Alsatian dictionary that “unlike English, /r/ is trilled and is either a weak, voiced, uvular friction sound or a tongue tip trill,” indicating the presence of both apical and uvular /r/ in ALS,²²⁵ as in SG and HAlem (Russ 1989: 371). Furthermore, he states that “Alsatian /r/ is always pronounced wherever it is in the word” indicating an absence of the glide counterpart [ɐ] found in SG syllable-final positions.

My interviews conducted in Castroville revealed consistent use of the apical trill versus the uvular trill, with occasional occurrences of the retroflex [ɻ]. When an ALS speaker in France was asked about the predominant use of the trilled [r] in Castroville (versus the uvular fricative observed), she replied that “they speak like the farmers used to around here,” implying an older, rural, and perhaps less “prestigious” ranking of the apical trill in the Alsace today.²²⁶ Drawing any conclusions about the realization of /r/ is almost impossible, as it is a feature shared by many dialect areas, including HAlem spoken in the Sundgau in southernmost Alsace. However, it is interesting that the TxAls speakers interviewed utilized the apical trill systematically with little variation. This might indicate that at the time of the main Alsatian immigration wave from 1830-1860, the apical trill was dominant in rural Upper Rhine areas. This could have also been the

²²⁵ Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) do not mention either the apical or the uvular/velar trill in their brief consonantal description of Colmar, but all /r/ positions are transcribed with the uvular [ʀ].

²²⁶ This certainly could be attributed to the influence of the more prestigious French uvular [ʀ]. When one looks at discussions on which of these allophones is historically the oldest, the uvular fricative or the apical trill, opinions vary. King & Beach (1998: 280) note: “Whatever the origins of uvular [ʀ], there is no question that it became the most common pronunciation, certainly in most German cities of any size, consigning apical [r] to marginality, to the provinces, and to the mock-factitious pronunciation of the stage.”

case for many other rural areas from which other German immigrants to Texas originated, as Gilbert (1972) also notes the predominant use of the apical trill (see below) for TxG. Influence from Spanish is highly unlikely, given that social interaction between the Spanish-speaking community and the Texas Alsatians was rare. Unfortunately, Gilbert only sampled a small number of counties for the realization of [r] in two positions: word-initial in *rennt* ('runs') and syllable-final in *Haarbürste* ('hairbrush'). Gilbert (1972: 2) concludes in his phonological comparison of TxG /r/ with SG:

Most speakers use apical [ř] or its glide counterpart [ɹ].
 Retroflex [ɻ] is common in some areas, especially in Lee
 Co. Uvular [ʀ] rarely occurs.

The Gilbert (1972) translation item “He is running” was chosen over “hairbrush,” as it became evident that it was not a term known to most TxAls speakers. Participant #252b remarked, *Ich gloib, di Lit hàn kai [hairbrush] khàà wu se kumma sin*, ('I believe that people didn't have hairbrushes when they came'). When “comb” was substituted in later sessions, *Kamm* was immediately produced. Still, some TxAls speakers went to great lengths to produce an Alsatian word for “hairbrush,” ALS [ho:rberʃta] (Nisslé 2008: 221):

- (4.7) “hairbrush”
- a. 241: [a kambuřʃt]
 - b. 247: [a ho:řbřuʃ]
 - c. 251: [a ho:řaʃtři:çř]
 - d. 254b: [a ho:řbuřʃt].

Gilbert's (1972) Map 2 records the distribution of word-initial /r/ in eight counties (three counties polled only two TxG speakers) for the phrase *Er rennt jetzt*. The following responses were recorded for Medina County:

Table 4.13: /r/

Gilbert (1972) Map 2, (phonetic realization of /r/)
 “He’s running now,” SG *Er rennt jetzt*, URA *Ař řennt jätz*.

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i>	<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	
Trilled [ř]: (URA)	8, 9, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27	202, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 247, 248, 249a, 249b, 249c, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 255, 257
Retroflex [ɽ]:	10	(241, 253)
Uvular [ʀ]: (SG)	4	
Unable to recall:		233, 256
[Not polled: 11 participants;		243
		24 (2) 2 1]

The trilled apical [r] was dominant in Gilbert’s responses recorded in Medina County (14/16). However, eleven of these polled participants know at least some Alsatian, which somewhat lessens the impact of the result. This feature was also prevalent in eastern counties polled (DeWitt, Fayette, Bastrop) where Polish, Czech, Slovak, and Sorbian settlements are located, whose phonetic inventory all have some trilled realization of /r/. All samplings of TxAls in this study of the item attest to the trilled apical [r], although two of these sixteen speakers often used the retroflex [ɽ] with other items.

The predominance of the apical trill suggests that the maintenance of this feature could be considered an example of what Guion (1996: 461) terms “structure exaggeration” in order to assert ethnic identity.

4.4.3 Phonological transference

Weinrich's (1953:22) constraint of "holes in the pattern" for phonological borrowings (the existence of phonemic inventory "gaps" which facilitate importing new phonemes), offers an explanation for this "phonic transference" (Clyne 2003: 78), but does not address how it is effected. Thomason's (2001) Borrowing Scale addresses borrowing of lexical, phonological and structural items in terms of the intensity of contact in order to explain why only certain items are borrowed. For example, borrowing new phonemes are indicative of "slightly" to "more" intense contact, depending upon their context. Winford (2003: 56) suggests that the appearance of new phonological features in a recipient language in situations of language contact might not be borrowing, but substratum transfer, i.e, new features are introduced by shifting speakers and then imitated by native speakers. Clyne (2003: 76) suggests the more neutral term, "transference," where a "form, feature or construction has been taken over by the speaker from another language, whatever the motives or explanation." This transference seems a plausible explanation for the appearance of new phonic alternations [ç] for the URA fricative /x/ noted above.

The occurrence of both voiced and voiceless stops in TxAls (contrary to the phonological descriptions used for reference) is most likely a "phonic transference" from several languages in contact. As described in Chapter Two, the first group of colonists was linguistically diverse. There was already intermarriage between Alsatian, German, and French colonists in the earliest years of its settlement. In these families, one parent often spoke Alsatian and the other, a more standard-near German dialect. Gilbert (1972: 2) remarks that

. . . in Medina County, Alsatian German and Texas ‘High German’ interact with English and Spanish in a complex three-way process. Also, French and East Friesland Low German were once widely spoken in the county.

As already noted several times, social interaction between the Spanish-speaking community and the Texas Alsatians was rare, so that contact-induced change from Spanish is highly unlikely. It is reasonable to assert, however, that (1) voiced stops were already present in the Alsatian spoken by the main group of colonists; (2) bilingual speakers of TxAls or TxG and English integrated these stops into TxAls. Unfortunately, the processes and causes of this development cannot be ascertained due to the time elapsed and absence of data which might have shed more light on the contact situation.

Open syllable lengthening is somewhat more transparent. Noticeable among the responses of participants in this study has been (1) a systematic lengthening of vowels [a, e, i, o, u] in both open *and* closed syllables, and in the utterances of some speakers, (2) a further diphthongization of these lengthened vowels in open syllables, particularly [o:] > [o:u], [e:] > [e:i], and [i:] > [i:j], as is shown in example 4.8:

- (4.8) Vowel lengthening in open and closed syllables
- | | | | | | | |
|----|----------|---|-----------|---|------------|-----------|
| a. | [fanʃř] | > | [fa:nʃř] | | ‘window’ | |
| b. | [dia] | > | [di:ə] | > | [di:ja] | ‘the.dem’ |
| | [is] | > | [i:s] | | ‘ice’ | |
| c. | [kse] | > | [kse:] | > | [kse:i] | ‘been’ |
| d. | [do] | > | [do:] | > | [do:u] | ‘here’ |
| e. | [dɔnʃɪk] | > | [dɔ:nʃɪk] | | ‘Thursday’ | |

This could conceivably be due to a combination of several factors. For example, it could have had its beginnings as a conscious “structure exaggeration” (Guion 1996: 461) of an already-present vowel lengthening in stressed open syllables on the part of TxAls speakers to differentiate themselves from other German speakers. One could also

argue for a later-occurring phonological transference from the Texas accent into TxAls. Prosodic features such as accent, tone, and nasalization have been noted to be especially prone to diffusion in language contact situations (e.g. Lehiste 1997, Matisoff 2001, Epps 2006). The long monophthong characteristic of the Texas accent as [pa:] ‘father,’ versus Midwestern [pa] (Ladefoged 2006: 93), marks the speech of Medina County speakers,²²⁷ which could especially influence TxAls semi-speakers, whose dominant language is English. In addition, this feature is reinforced in European Alsatian by a separate phonemic set of lengthened vowels described by Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) (see Table 4.2), making it especially salient to TxAls speakers. Further transcription and examination of current and Gilbert’s (1972) data is necessary to more aptly analyze this vowel lengthening and diphthongization.

4.5 SUMMARY

The main impetus of this chapter has been to first provide a description of several phonological features which define the URA of Mulhouse, and secondly, to identify these features in current TxAls speech samples in order to demonstrate maintenance of the ancestral language. The following URA features were selected to compare with TxAls speech samples:

1. backing and lowering of MHG *ë* [ɛ] > *a* [a],
2. retention of MHG long vowels *î* [i:] and *û* [y:],
3. retention of MHG diphthongs *ie* [ie, ia] and *uo* [ye, ya],

as evidenced by rising diphthongs,

²²⁷ Several European Alsations remarked on a “drawl” in the speech of the Texas Alsations when asked about the Alsatian spoken in Castroville. One native Alsatian noted that when he first met #202, he noticed *was Schleppendes* ‘a dragging’ about his speech that “sounded like Willie Nelson.”

4. use of the velar fricative [x] in all environments,
5. spirantization of SG intervocalic /b/ > [v, β],
6. the set of labial, alveolar, and velar stops, and
7. the apical trill for all positions of /r/.

A resampling of Gilbert's (1972) data substantiated a high degree of maintenance of these features in the responses of twenty-seven 2009 informants. Gilbert's (1972) data also established the uniqueness of these features as compared with responses in the other thirty counties. It was also determined that eight of the twelve Gilbert participants in Medina County who claimed Alsatian heritage or language were fairly consistent in their reproduction of URA features, while the remaining five often produced variants which substantiated dialect-mixing of Alsatian and near-standard TxG varieties, as in *Fenschteř* SG *Fenster*, URA *Fanschteř*. Observations on three phonological developments in TxAls mainly attributed to language contact were also introduced: (1) the phonic transference of [ç] from TxG, and (2) the occurrence of both voiced and voiceless stops, and (3) the transference of lengthened monophthongs from the American Texas accent.

This chapter has focused on the analysis of a selected set of URA phonological features maintained in TxAls which distinguish it from some of its neighboring dialects and SG. This analysis constitutes only a beginning of the work necessary for a deeper evaluation of these and other features. My analysis has nevertheless shown that these features have been largely maintained by present day speakers with only minimal variation. The next chapter will present morphosyntactic features of TxAls which can be traced back to URA and which also distinguish it from neighboring TxG dialects.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF TEXAS ALSATIAN

Wie luschtig sin d' Mannala
Mit deŕa volla Kannala
Wie veller as d' Kannala sin
Wie luschtigŕ as di Mannala sin.

‘How happy are the little men
With their full little cans.
The fuller the little cans,
the happier the little men.’

Wie luschtig sin di Wiewela
Bi deŕa siessa Triewela
Wie siessŕ as d Triewela sin
Wie luschtiger as d Wiewela sin.

‘How happy are the little women
With their sweet little grapes.
The sweeter the little grapes,
The happier the little women.’

--recited by #254, March 16, 2007

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates morphosyntactic features of the Texas Alsatian noun and verb to identify the extent of preservation of the Upper Rhine Alsatian (URA) donor dialect(s) in today’s Texas Alsatian (TxAls) dialect. The examination of morphosyntactic features such as the case, gender, and number of nouns were chosen for several reasons. These features are easily identifiable and thus lend themselves to examining linguistic preservation, loss, or change, which not only underpins the descriptive goals of this study, but also informs studies of linguistic maintenance and loss in the general field of language contact (e.g., Dorian 1973 on Scottish Gaelic, Holloway 1997 on Brule Spanish, Damke 1997 on German in Brazil, etc.). There is also a fair amount of literature on morphosyntactic features in other TxG dialects (e.g., Gilbert 1965a, Salmons 1994, Guion 1996, Boas 2009b, etc.) and related German-American dialects (e.g., Huffines 1990, Born 1994, Keel 1994, Loudon 1994, Van Ness 1996, Nützel 1998, etc.) important for comparative work. Many of the ALS morphosyntactic features discussed here are also distinct from SG and TxG, as in demonstratives, monosyllabic verbs, or the double-

infinitive construction, which aids in determining the extent of preservation of the ALS donor dialect.

A similar methodology to the previous chapter is followed in the discussion of these morphosyntactic features. Features of the Upper Rhine Alsatian dialect around Mulhouse (URAMul) and Colmar (URACol) are identified and indexed against standard German forms to highlight preservation or particular variations in TxAls (additional descriptive notes from URACol underscore regional concurrence and variation within URA). Many of the same works used in the previous chapter are consulted.²²⁸ To investigate the preservation of distinctive URA structures by 20th and 21st century TxAls speakers, Gilbert's (1972) linguistic data recorded in the 1960s in Medina County is examined and compared with my re-sampling of his data, based on interviews conducted with twenty-seven TxAls speakers. In Chapter Four, eight of Gilbert's twenty-seven informants were identified as fairly fluent Alsatian speakers and five additional informants produced forms which showed dialect-mixing of Alsatian and other TxG dialects.²²⁹ These participant's numbers are shown in **boldface** type in the tables comparing the Gilbert (1972) data with my re-sampling to (1) facilitate recognition of URA features or to (2) more easily identify speaker variation indicative of dialect or language contact.

The analysis of the TxAls noun (§5.4) (and verb) is based on establishing TxAls similarities to URA (§5.3) and differences from SG (§5.2). Noun gender, case, and

²²⁸ For URAMul, Nisslé (2008) and Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) were consulted; for URACol, Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) and Philipp & Weider (2002); for TxAls, Gilbert (1972) and the *Elsasser Wordbuch* (1981); for SG, Langenscheidt (1995) and Rankin & Wells (2001).

²²⁹ These eight participants were identified as #s 9, 19-21, 23-25, 27, born 1879, 1884, 1893, 1901, 1907, 1914, 1919, and 1920, respectively. Gilbert (1972: 17-18) identified five additional participants (#s 4, 7, 8, 12, 18, born 1894, 1916, 1886, 1892 and 1894, respectively) who had Alsatian-speaking parents or grandparents. Gilbert (1972) also notes three fluent Low German speakers, #s 2, 16, and 22, whose utterances occasionally coincide with Alsatian speakers and point to interesting similarities between the two dialects.

number are first discussed, with a separate discussion of URA case marking. Case marking was singled out for discussion for several reasons. First of all, there is extensive literature on case loss in German and TxG (e.g. Eikel 1949, Gilbert 1965, Schrier 1965, Barðdal & Kulikov 2007, Born 2003, Boas 2009b, etc.) which provides a wide range of data for discussing the dynamics of change due to internal processes and/or contact-driven (external) processes. Case marking is also obvious: it is one of the first grammatical features with which learners of German have difficulty, as illustrated by the SG masculine definite article declinations below:

Table 5.1: Masculine definite article declinations, *der Mann* ('the man')

	<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Accusative</i>	<i>Dative</i>	<i>Genitive</i>
SG	der Mann	den Mann	dem Mann	des Mannes
TxG ²³⁰	der Mann	den Mann	den Mann	--
URA	<u>d</u> 'r M à nn	<u>d</u> 'r M à nn	<u>im</u> M à nn	--

URA case marking differs from both TxG and SG. The URA dialect is characterized by a merger of the nominative and accusative forms, while TxG is characterized by a merger of the accusative and dative forms found in many northern German dialects (Boas 2009a: 125). Lastly, Alsatian exhibits several marked determiner forms which seem to have been preserved in TxAls.

In addition to determiner markings, I also examine the pronoun system (§5.4.5) to establish the degree to which this URA case opposition has been preserved. I then turn to the verb and examine features relating to finite and non-finite forms, inflectional endings, tense, and mood of the URA donor dialect (§5.5). I again compare data from my

²³⁰ Salmons (1994: 60) also identifies these same case markings for TxG in Gillespie County.

resampling of Gilbert's (1972) translation tasks to establish the degree of preservation of these features in TxAls (§5.6). A brief examination of the syntactic properties of the modal auxiliaries and word order in §5.7 concludes my examination of morphosyntactic features in TxAls.

It is helpful to consult the SG case and gender system as an index for comparison even though it is somewhat problematic, as the prescribed SG system brushes aside a great deal of regional, stylistic, and social variation. Even regional descriptions such as those used here (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989, Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003) must generalize when presenting a coherent picture of a dialect's features, as variation occurs even within one speaker's utterances (Fuller & Gilbert 2003), i.e., one speaker does not consistently produce the same sounds or form for one phoneme or morpheme.

The SG grammatical system is first described, beginning with aspects of gender, case, and number, to introduce the reader to the prescribed norms of German necessary to understanding the significance of the TxAls data presented in this chapter.

5.2 THE SG NOUN: GENDER, CASE, AND NUMBER

SG maintains four cases—nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive—and three grammatical genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, represented by the nominative determiners *der*, *die*, and *das* ('the') respectively. There is some noun inflection (weak masculine nouns, dative plural) which reflects case, but it is the extensive declension of determiners which marks the function of the noun in the noun phrase (Rankin and Wells 2001: 55-63).

The following example illustrates the SG noun and determiner forms possible with the masculine noun, *Mann* ('man').²³¹ The masculine case represents the largest range of inflection found in SG case-marking patterns:

Table 5.2: SG Masculine noun inflection for case and number

<i>der Mann 'the man'</i>	<i>definite article</i>	<i>indefinite article</i>	<i>Plural</i>
NOM	der Mann	ein Mann	die Männer
ACC	den Mann	einen Mann	die Männer
DAT	dem Mann	einem Mann	den Männern
GEN	des Mannes	eines Mannes	der Männer

In SG, the nominative/accusative distinction is mainly evident in the masculine forms. While SG still prescribes genitive markings to show relation between nouns e.g., possession, or its use after certain prepositions, genitive case markings have generally been replaced by dative markings in most modern colloquial varieties:

(5.1):

SG: *Wegen des Regens bin ich nicht zum Park gegangen.*
 Because the.GEN rain am I not to the park gone

Colloq:²³² *Wegen dem Regen bin ich nicht zum Park gegangen.*
 Because the.DAT rain am I not to the park gone
 'Because of the rain I didn't go to the park.'

²³¹ There are some masculine weak nouns such as *Mensch* ('person'), *Student* ('student'), and *Junge* ('boy'), which have maintained older case markings, i.e., the addition of *-(e)n* in oblique cases (*Menschen*, *Studenten*, *Jungen*). The retention of the dative *-e* in *im Jahre* is optional for many speakers, and the expression can mean 'in the year.'

²³² #202 produced a similar phrase with the preposition *wegen* ('because of'): *As isch waga'm zweiten Weltkrieg* ('It's because of the second World War').

However, genitive case markings are still found in several fossilized phrases, such as *um Gottes Willen* ('for God's sake'), *eines Tages* ('one day'), or *meinetwegen* ('because of me'). The following possibilities considered acceptable by SG and colloquial standards exist for the genitive case (Rankin & Wells 2001: 47-8):

(5.2) SG for "my brother's sister:"

- a. article marked for the genitive + noun suffix *-(e)s*:

die Schwester	meines	Bruders
the sister.NOM	my.POSS.DAT	brother
- b. *-s*: allowed with names and familial members

mein	Bruders	Schwester
my.POSS.NOM	brother.POSS.	sister
- c. *von* substitute allowed, but not preferred:

die Schwester	von	meinem	Bruder
the sister.NOM	of.PREP	my.POSS.DAT	brother

Versus the frequently-used non-standard form:

- d. *meinem* Bruder *seine* Schwester

my.POSS.DAT	brother	his.POSS.NOM	sister
-------------	---------	--------------	--------

In the other three varieties under consideration in this study, genitive functions are expressed periphrastically, using the dative or a preposition requiring the dative. For example, TxAls and TxG speakers use the periphrastic forms with the dative or accusative case (accusative for most TxG speakers) to communicate a relationship between two nouns:

(5.3)

a. TxAls: #234

Wàs isch seinem Kind si nàma?

what is his.DAT child his.NOM/ACC name

‘What is his child’s name?’

b. TxG: 1-82-1-10-a.eaf

mir tun ne masse Deutsch sprechen und auch mit den seine Schwestern.

me do a lot German speak and also with him.ACC his sisters

‘But we speak a lot of German and also with his sisters.’

SG also exhibits verbs and prepositions which govern case. Within the set of prepositions, there are separate sets which govern the accusative and dative, as well as a set of place prepositions (*Wechselpräpositionen*), which govern either accusative or dative. This is dependent upon whether motion is indicated or not, (Rankin and Wells 2001: 125). If motion is indicated (unless confined to a specific location), the accusative is mandated, otherwise the dative is required. Thus, there is the possibility of either dative or accusative forms for these “two-way prepositions:”

(5.4) The two-way preposition *an* (‘on’):

Das Bild hängt an der Wand.

the picture hangs on the.DAT wall

Ich hänge das Bild an die Wand.

I hang the picture on the.ACC wall

Prepositions which require the genitive case (*statt* ‘instead of’, *während* ‘during’, *trotz* ‘despite’, etc.) are currently in use, but are mainly used with the dative colloquially.

The SG noun is also marked for number. Plural formation is accomplished via various combinations of suffixes and vowel changes. Rankin & Wells (2001: 157) define five basic plural endings for SG nouns, \emptyset , *-e*, *-er*, *-en*, and *-s*. In some instances, the stem

vowel of the noun also has an umlaut (cf. Table 5.4). A brief introduction to these same properties of the noun in Upper Rhine Alsatian is given in the next section.

5.3 THE UPPER RHINE ALSATIAN NOUN: GENDER, CASE, AND NUMBER

This section describes the structural properties of the noun in the donor dialect, URA, with emphasis on the descriptive analyses of the dialect spoken around Mulhouse (URAMul) for reasons already established. Brief comparative notes on TxAls are provided, but the bulk of the data illustrating the degree of maintenance will be discussed in §5.4.

Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003: 117) describe three grammatical genders and four grammatical cases similar to those of SG (additional variations of URACol are in parentheses):

Table 5.3: URAMul case and gender

	Indefinite	NOM	ACC	DAT	GEN	PL
MASC 'man'	a Mànn	d'r Mànn	d'r Mànn	im Mànn	vum Mànn	d' Manner (di) ²³³
FEM 'woman'	a Frài	d'Frài (di)	d'Frài	in d'r Frài	vu d'Frài	d'Fràia (di)
NEUT 'child'	a Kind	's Kind	's Kind	im Kind	vum Kind	d'Kinder (di)

²³³ Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 321) note two articles in URACol for the feminine singular and plural: [t, ti].

Articles marking gender are phonologically reduced forms (*d'r*, *d'*, *'s*) of SG *der*, *die*, and *das*, respectively. As a general rule, gender assignment in URAMul coincides with gender assignment in SG, although not always, as in SG *die Butter* (fem) ('butter'), LAlem *d'r Butter* (masc),²³⁴ and can also vary within the region (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 319).

The dative and the genitive cases are both expressed within a prepositional phrase. The dative phrase is introduced by the preposition *in* [ɪn] combined with the dative marking [m] for the masculine and neuter nouns, URAMul *im*, SG *dem*, and a dative-marked feminine *d'r*.²³⁵ The genitive is expressed periphrastically in URA with the dative-governed preposition *vu*, SG *von* ('of'). For example, URAMul *vum Mànn* ('of the man') differs from the SG genitive form *des Mannes* ('the man's'), although as noted above, a dative paraphrase is now predominantly used for the genitive in German colloquial speech.

Case-markings in the URA system of determiners show a merger of the nominative and accusative, with an opposition between these two cases and the dative (NA/D), as in other southern dialects, in contrast to many northern German dialects that distinguish between a nominative and non-nominative (N/AD) (Boas 2009a: 125 citing Panzer 1983: 1171). However, this merger is only partial (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 321), as the pronoun system reflects a distinction between three cases, e.g., *ich*.NOM ('I'), *mich*.ACC. ('me'), and *mir*.DAT ('me').

Given the periphrastic nature of the dative and genitive cases and the "loss" of

²³⁴ This is evidence of contact with French, e.g., *le beurre* (masc.) ('the butter'). Consider the gender of the French equivalent in other masculine nouns: SG *die Bank* ('bench'), LAlem *d'r Bank*, Fr *le banc*, or SG *die Fahne* ('flag') LAlem *d'r Fahna*, Fr *le drapeau*.

²³⁵ This is identical to what Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 321) describe for URACol.

final *-n*,²³⁶ the noun in URA is marked only for number (Philipp & Botherel-Witz 1989: 319), unlike SG nouns marked for case (dative plural, weak masculine nouns, etc.). Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003: 117) describe a complicated pattern for marking the plural in URAMul by adding various suffixes and/or stem vowel changes, which overlaps with forms described in SG plural formation²³⁷ (Rankin & Wells 2001: 157-9). However, instead of appending the suffixes characteristic of SG, URAMul plural formation is characterized by umlaut, i.e., the stem vowel is fronted in plural forms where possible. Table 5.4 juxtaposes the two systems of plural formation:

²³⁶ The URA noun has undergone a loss of the final *-n* as indicated by the *Win/Wi* isogloss in Illustration 4.2 (e.g. *Kamin/Kami* ('fireplace'), *Magen/Mage* ('stomach'), a part of the isogloss bundle separating the Lower Rhine from the Upper Rhine department just above Colmar. Such nouns are not marked for number.

²³⁷ Rankin & Wells (2001: 157): "There are five basic plural endings for German nouns: *--*, *-e*, *-er*, *-en*, *-s*. In some instances, the stem vowel of the noun also has an umlaut."

Table 5.4: Plural formation in SG and URAMul

<i>URAMul</i>	<i>sing. – plural</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>sing. – plural</i>
<i>no suffix</i>	's Fanster – d'Fanster (‘window-s’)	<i>no suffix</i>	das Fenster – die Fenster
<i>-a</i>	's Ohr – d'Ohra (‘ear-s’)	<i>-e or -e</i>	der Krug – die Krüge (‘pitcher-s’)
<i>-er²³⁸</i>	's Kind – d'Kinder (‘child-ren’)	<i>-er</i>	das Kind – die Kinder
<i>-ü > i+er;</i> <i>-à > e+er;</i> <i>-à > a+er</i>	d'Hüen – d'Hiener (‘hen-s’) 's Ràd – d'Räder (‘wheel-s’) d'r Mànn – d'Manner (‘man-men’)	<i>--er</i>	das Huhn – die Hühner das Rad – die Räder
<i>--</i>		<i>-(e)n</i>	das Ohr – die Ohren (‘ear’s’)
<i>--</i>		<i>-s</i>	das Auto – die Autos (‘car-s’)
<i>-à > a</i>	d' Hànd – d'Hand (‘hand-s’)	<i>--</i>	
<i>-ü > ie</i>	d'r Füess – d'Fiess (‘foot-feet’) d'r Krüag – d'Krieg (‘pitcher-s’)	<i>--</i>	
<i>-o > e</i>	d'r Vogel – d'Vegel ‘bird-s’	<i>--</i>	

Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 319-320) define four ways in which nouns form the plural in URACol, which also generally describes formation of the plural in URAMul (and TxAls):

²³⁸ Unfortunately, neither Nisslé (2008) nor the *EW* indicate plural formation for the noun. Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) provide examples in the grammar appendix and a few examples of plurals in their glossary.

1. No overt ending of nouns whose stem vowel cannot be umlauted, e.g., *d'r Äpfel – d'Äpfel* ('apple – apples');
2. The stem vowel undergoes umlaut, but no ending is added, e.g., *d'r Zahn – d'Zähn* ('tooth – teeth');
3. The ending *-a* (/ə/) is added (usually feminine nouns), e.g. *d'Frài – d'Fràia* ('woman – women');
4. *-er* is added and the stem vowel is umlauted wherever possible, e.g. *d'Hüen – d'Hiener* ('hen – hens').

Having broadly described the gender, case, and plural marking systems for SG and URA, I now turn to the noun in Texas Alsatian.

5.4 THE TEXAS ALSATIAN NOUN: GENDER, CASE, AND NUMBER

The following sections describe the current representations of the noun by TxAls speakers in Medina County as produced in the re-sampling of Gilbert's (1972) translation items and narratives in the interview sessions. The data is supported by the *Ellsasser Wordbuch* (EW) where possible and juxtaposed with Gilbert's (1972) data.

5.4.1 Gender

According to the *EW*,²³⁹ like SG and URA, TxAls also generally distinguishes between three grammatical genders of masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in SG and URA. The following table provides the gender of a sampling of Alsatian nouns and was compiled by consulting the *EW* and Nisslé's (2008) Alsatian dictionary of the Upper Rhine, *D' Lehrschtuwa*:

²³⁹ It should be stressed that the *EW* is not a prescriptive work, endeavoring instead to provide a descriptive account of TxAls lexical items. The *Elsasser Wordbuch* does translate "the" with three forms, *die*, *der*, and *das* indicative of three genders, but does not necessarily reflect actual production by current speakers. Unfortunately, no gender is indicated for noun entries.

Table 5.5: TxAls grammatical genders

	<i>URA</i> (Nisslé 2008)	<i>TxAls</i> (EW)	<i>SG</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
Masc	d'r Mànn	mann	der Mann	'the man'
	d'r Büa	büie	der Junge	'the boy'
	d'r Schtüal	stühl	der Stuhl	'the chair'
	d'r Tesch	disch	der Tisch	'the table'
Fem	d'Deera	derr	die Tür	'the door'
	d'Hüahn	hüen	die Henne	'the hen'
	d' Schüala	schül	die Schule	'the school'
	d'Zitt	zit	die Zeit	'the time'
Neut	's Kessa	kissi	das Kissen	'the pillow'
	's Hüss	hüs	das Haus	'the house'
	's Kind	kind	das Kind	'the child'
	's Beld	bild	das Bild	'the picture'

Many TxAls speakers produce the URA determiners marking gender for the noun *d'r* (masculine), *d'* (feminine), and *'s* (neuter) erratically and there appears to be a general regularization of the feminine *d'* to the masculine and neuter forms. Only one Gilbert item²⁴⁰ targeted the production of gender for the SG masculine noun *der Honig* ALS *d'r Hunig* ('honey'). *Honig* is not a noun of natural gender (as in woman, man, boy) and is therefore an interesting choice. Unfortunately, approximately one half of the participants in this study did not produce an article for "honey." Nevertheless, a comparison of Gilbert's data for Medina County with my data is informative.

²⁴⁰ The other four items inquired into the gender of borrowed nouns from English: "sink," "creek," "candy," and "tank."

Table 5.6: Resampling: Gender assignment in Medina County

Gilbert (1972) Map #74 (Gender of nouns)
 “honey,” SG *der Honig*, ALS *d’r Hunig*

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i>		<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	
27		27	
dər (SG)	1, 3, 4 , 5, 6, 7, 8 , 9 , 10, 11, 12 , 13, 14, 15, 17, 18 , 24 , 27	<u>dər</u> : 236, 238, 251, 257	4
<u>dř</u> (URA)	19 , 21	-	
da ^{r241}	20 , 23	-	
<u>salla</u> (URA.masc. ‘that’)		247	1
də	25	235, 249a, 249b, 250, 254, 256	6
das (SG.neut)	22, 26	253	1
s (URA.neut)	-	202	1
dat	2, (22)	-	
de:	16	-	
no article produced with word		234, 237, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 248, 249c, 252b, 255	11
Word unknown:		233, 252a	2
[not polled:		249d	1]

Thirteen TxAls speakers in 2009 produced some form of article, five of which identified *Hunig* as masculine. Several comments are relevant to the responses produced by the 2009 TxAls speakers. First, I did not prompt the production of a definite article. Secondly, the article was produced in an unstressed position (prosodic pattern [d 'hʊ:nɪk]) and it was difficult to distinguish whether the speaker produced an [r] or its equivalent in this position. It is also possible that speakers could have assigned a specific case to this noun as well as others, but this was not a part of the data collection process. Overall,

²⁴¹ This is a combination of the masculine forms of the definite (*d’r*) and demonstrative article (*da:*).

opportunities in Gilbert's (1972) tasks to observe gender assignment to nouns were greatly reduced by the high frequency of pronouns, plural and indefinite article forms. However, a sampling of several nominative position nouns in the singular and plural within Gilbert's (1972) phrase items is analyzed in Table 5.7 (all grammatically correct forms are underlined) on the facing page.

For item (a) in Table 5.7, fourteen (64%) out of twenty-two speakers produced a determiner form indicating neuter gender for the noun, 's *Bild* ('the picture'). In 5.7 (b), thirteen (56%) speakers out of twenty-three produced a masculine determiner form for *d'r Hund* ('the dog'). For the feminine noun, *d'Deer* ('the door') in 5.7 (c), all speakers (100%) who produced an article assigned the feminine article. The same is true for the plural form in 5.7 (d), *d'Kinder* ('the children'). Boas (2009a: 236) notes that gender assignment in TxG is fairly stable. Reviewing the above results, this can perhaps also be said of TxAls. However, there is strong evidence of either simplification to a common article [d] due to "loss" of gender, or regularization of the feminine/plural article [d] to all genders.²⁴² Whether this loss is influenced by external factors (assimilation to the dominant language, English) or internal developments (continued merging of case markings in ALS), is difficult to conclude.²⁴³ The extent of this gender loss in TxAls can be further defined by examining data on other case marking systems in TxAls.

²⁴² #241 comments that definite articles for Alsatian are "easy," because they are all the same—[də] as in English, yet he produced several "correct" demonstrative articles [dɔs, di:a] and a plural [di:] described by URA grammars.

²⁴³ This general loss of gender distinction has been observed in other languages undergoing attrition, e.g. Dyirbal (Aikhenvald 2000), Scottish-Gaelic (Dorian 1981), Dahalo (Dimmendaal 1983), etc.

Table 5.7: Resampling of TxAls Gender Assignment

(a) neut.nom.: <i>s'Bild</i> ('the picture') in "The picture belongs to them."		
<u>'s:</u>	202, 234, 237, 238, 239, 242, 248, 251, 256	9
<u>sal</u>	247	1
<u>das</u>	235, 241, 250, 253	4
<u>d'r</u>	240	1
<u>də</u>	236, 249a, 249c, 252a, 252b, 255	6
<u>dat</u>	257	
	1	
no article:	254	1
unknown:	233, 243	2
[not polled:	249b, 249d	2]
(b) masc.nom.: <i>d'ř Hund</i> ('the dog') in "The dog bit that bad man."		
<u>dř & deř</u>	236, 235, 237, 238, 239, 241, 248, 253, 254, 255, 257	11
<u>da</u> (demon.)	233, 240	2
<u>də</u>	202, 234, 242, 247, 249a, 249c, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 256	11
[not polled:	243, 249b, 249d	3]
(c) fem.nom.: <i>d' Deerř</i> ('the door')		
<u>də</u>	202, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 248, 249a, 249b, 249c, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257	25 ²⁴⁴
<u>sali</u>	247	1
no article:	243	1
(d) Plural.nom.: <i>d'Kinderř</i> ('the children') in "The little children see her."		
<u>də</u>	202, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 247, 249a, 249c, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257	23
<u>di, dia</u>	(240), 241, 248, (249a), 249b	3 (2)
[not polled:	243	1]

²⁴⁴ Speakers 234, 238, 239, 242, and 250 are all fluent speakers, who produced the article in the interview sessions, but did not produce the article during the Gilbert translation tasks.

5.4.2 Case marking

Determiner forms, i.e. definite articles²⁴⁵ and demonstrative pronouns not only mark gender, but also the function of the noun in the noun phrase. Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 321) characterize the declension of determiners in the Alsatian dialect area as “a merger of the forms of the nominative and accusative which is not total in the Lower Rhine.” The demonstrative determiners further illustrate the nominative/accusative merger indicative of URA.²⁴⁶

Table 5.8: URAMul demonstrative pronoun forms²⁴⁷

(URACol in parentheses)

	NOM / ACC sing.			PL	DATIVE sing.			PL
	<i>masc.</i>	<i>fem.</i>	<i>neut.</i>		<i>masc.</i>	<i>fem.</i>	<i>neut.</i>	
(a) “this – these” SG <i>dieser, der hier</i> – <i>diese</i>	da	dia	dàs	dia	in dam	in dara	in dam	in danna
(b) “that – those” SG <i>jener, der da</i> – <i>jene, die da</i>	saller (salla)	salla (salli)	sall	salla (salli)	in sallem	in sallra	in sallem	in salla (salli)

The more obvious differences in marking case can be seen in these demonstrative forms. The demonstrative pronouns for “this” (*da, dia, dàs*) and “that” (*salla/er, salla, sall*) also function as demonstrative adjectives before the noun, as in *dia Hüen* SG *diese Henne* (‘this hen’), or *salla/er Mànn* SG *jener Mann* (‘that man’).

²⁴⁵ The indefinite article *a* (‘a’) is never declined, unlike SG *ein* (cf. Table 5.2).

²⁴⁶ URACol forms are fairly similar to URAMul, with differentiating forms for the fem. and pl. (–*i*) and the nom./acc. masc (–*a*).

²⁴⁷ Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003: 119; Philipp & Bothorel Witz 1989: 321; Rankin & Wells 2001: 213-14.

TxAls speakers have generally maintained the NA/D distinction, which is especially evident in their production of the URA demonstrative forms. Gilbert (1972) also recorded evidence of these distinctive forms in Medina County. Four items investigate TxG demonstrative forms, three of which elicit translations for the English demonstrative “this” and one for the demonstrative “that.” Map 40 reported responses in Medina County for the demonstrative adjective “this” in the phrase, “It’s too dry this year:”

Table 5.9: Resampling: Demonstrative adjective “this”

Gilbert (1972) Map 40: “It’s too dry this year.”
 SG *Es ist zu trocken dies Jahr*, URA *Es isch zü trūkka dàs Johr*.

<i>Gilbert (1972): 27</i>		<i>Roesch (2009)</i>	<i>27</i>
<u>das</u>	(ALS) 1, 4, 8, 9, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27	202, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 247, 248, 249a, 249c, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257	24 (96%)
dis	3, 17	233	1
dit	16, 22	-	
di:s, di:z (SG)	2, 6, 7, 11, 13, 15, 20 , (21), (24)	-	
di:sə, di:zə	25	-	
di:səs, di:zəs	5, 12	-	
dis & di:zəs	10, (24)	-	
dis & di:s	14	-	
unknown:		249b	1
[Not polled:		243	1]

Nine of the thirteen Gilbert participants identified as TxAls speakers (at varying levels of fluency), responded with the URA demonstrative *dàs* (‘this’) and the remaining four

produced the SG demonstrative form *dies/dieses* ('this'), thus demonstrating a 69% retention of the URA markings. A high degree of maintenance of this demonstrative article is also shown by the 2009 re-sampling: 92% of the participants used the URA demonstrative *dàs* ('this').

Gilbert's (1972) Map 42 investigated both the TxG demonstrative for "that" and adjectives ending in the phrase "The dog bit that bad man," SG *Der Hund biß 'den bösen Mann.*" The responses for the URA demonstrative *sall* ('that') are shown in Table 5.10:

Table 5.10: Resampling: Demonstrative adjective "that"

Gilbert (1972) Map 42: "The dog bit that bad man."
 ALS *Dr Hund hāt salla beesq Männ g'bissa*, SG *Der Hund biß den bösen Mann*

<i>Gilbert (1972): 27</i>		<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	<i>27</i>
<u>sa(:)lə</u> (URA)	19, 9, 21, 23, 24, 25	235, 241, 247, 249a 238, 202, 234, 237, 249c, 250, 255	11 (46%)
<u>salər</u> (URA)	27	-	
selə	8, 12	-	
sal (URA.neut)		257	1 (4%)
sali (URA.fem)		253	1 (4%)
da (URA 'this')		239, 251, 252a, 236, 240, 248, 249a, 242, 256, 252b	10
dř (URA 'the.acc')		254	1
de(:)r	1, 4 , 6, 7, 13, 14, 26, 18 , (21)	-	
'dəp man	15	-	
^(h) de:n (SG)	3, 10, 11, 17	-	
'de:	2, 16, 20 , 22	-	
di:zen man	5	-	
unknown:		233, 243	2
[Not polled:		249d	1]

Medina County revealed the greatest variation found among any of the counties, due mainly to the amount of combinations possible with the article and adjective endings and certainly influenced by the variety of dialects (LG, ALS, TxG). The predominant response for the remainder of the counties was usually two-fold: either ⁽ⁱ⁾ *de: n –an* or ⁽ⁱ⁾ *de: n –ə*. Nine of the thirteen Gilbert participants with some form of exposure to Alsatian in the family domain produced the URA demonstrative pronoun *sall* for the English demonstrative “that.” 50% of the 2009 speakers produced some form of the URA demonstrative *sall-* (‘that’), 42% of which produced the preferred form *salla*. 38% produced the URA demonstrative for “this.”

Again, it is unfortunate that there is no Gilbert phrase which targets the demonstrative in a dative context. However, the dat.masc./neut. form *sallem* (‘that’) and dative plural *salli* (‘those’) was produced by current TxAls speakers during interview narratives:

(5.5) Narrative examples of “that” and “those”

- a. #234: *Wer isch sallr wu steht dert an sallem [countr] mit sallem Bier?*
 SG: Wer ist der da, der dort an dem.DAT.masc. Ausschank mit dem.DAT.neut. Bier steht?
 ‘Who is that standing there at that counter with that beer?’
- b. #202: *Sitr sallem Tag hàn ich in noch nimm g’sah.*
 SG: Seit dem.DAT.masc. Tag habe ich ihn nicht gesehen.
 “Since that day I have not seen him.” (Eikel 7.10)
- c. #240: *Ein vu salli nini Brüedr isch mi Grossvàtr g’see.*
 SG: Einer von denen.DAT.pl. neun Brüdern ist mein Grossvater gewesen.
 ‘And one of those nine brothers was my grandfather.’

There is further evidence of the maintenance of dative forms in definite articles in TxAls. Generally, the dative case in TxAls is marked by the use of the historical [m] for the masculine and neuter gender and [r] for the feminine, as in URA and SG. A pair of

Gilbert (1972) phrases juxtaposes the use of accusative and dative with the SG two-way preposition *auf*, URA *uf* ('on'): "It's lying down there on the floor" investigates the SG prescribed use of the dative and "Put in on the floor!" the likewise prescribed use of the accusative definite article. I include Kerr County to the north for comparison, as only nine speakers were sampled in Gillespie County. Table 5.11 shows the Gilbert (1972) responses in Kerr and Medina Counties and the 2009 Medina responses for case marking after the two-way preposition *auf*:

Table 5.11: Resampling: Dative markings after two-way preposition *auf*

Gilbert (1972) Map 51: (case of definite article after prepositions)

“It’s lying down there on the floor.”

SG *Es liegt dort unten auf dem (Fuß)boden*, URA *Es liegt dert am Boda*.

<i>Gilbert (1972:</i>	<i>Kerr (16)</i>	<i>Medina (27)</i>	<i>Roesch (2009):</i>	<i>(27)</i>
DAT: (SG)	(0%)	(85%)	(84%)	
auf dem, aufəm,				
aufn (fu:s)bodə(n) -		3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 24	241	1
u:fəm bo:də -		1, 9, 19	202, 234, 242, 248, 249a, 250, 253, 254, 256	9
am bo:də (URA) -		8, 14, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27	(234), 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, (241), 247, (250), (248), 251, 252a, 252b, 255, 257	11+(4)
ACC:	(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	
auf den, aufən,	1, 2, 3, 4, 5,	-	-	
aufn (fu:s)bodə(n)	6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16			
NOM:	(0%)	(15%)	(16%)	
auf der	-	15	-	
u:f də	-	-	249b, 249c, 249d, 235	4
up də	-	2, 16, 22	-	
unknown			233	1
[not polled	10, 11, 12		243	1]

The thirteen Gilbert participants polled in Kerr County all responded with the accusative definite article form *den* or ‘*n*’ after *auf*, but none did so in Medina County. In support of his argument for the general loss of the dative in TxG, Boas (2009a:197) also notes a 93% (of 38 participants) response rate for the accusative to this item in his re-sampling of New Braunfels TxG (Comal County), and only a 7% use of the dative. He does not include the responses for *am* and *an*²⁴⁸ *der*, for which there were five responses, as they deviated from the prescribed SG preposition, *auf* (‘on’). However, in my data set for Medina County, this can not be disregarded, as one half of the participants responded with the alternative *am Boda* (‘on the floor’), with the contracted dative form of the preposition *an* + *dem*, also produced by eight participants in Gilbert’s (1972) data for Medina County. Twenty-one (84%) of my 2009 respondents produced some form of the dative case marking.

French Alsatian native M.L. identifies *an*²⁴⁹ as the preposition used in her area around Mulhouse in the following personal response (email 7.16.2009):

It's lying on the floor:	<i>As legt am boda;</i>
I put it on the floor:	<i>Ich hans an der boda glegt.</i>

In addition, M.L. uses the verb *leega* in both contexts, which, according to Nisslé (2008), means both “lie” and “lay”²⁵⁰ in URA. SG prescribes two separate verbs for “lie” and “lay,” *liegen* and *legen*, respectively.

The Gilbert (1972) phrase “Put it on the floor!” SG *Tu*²⁵¹ *es auf den Boden!*” investigates the same two-way preposition *auf* in a context marked for the accusative.

²⁴⁸ *An* is also a two-way preposition in SG and appears to also be such in TxAls and TxG.

²⁴⁹ Some transference from other semantic uses of the SG verb *liegen* which requires the preposition *an*, as in SG *Es liegt an dir* (‘It’s up to you’) might originally have occurred here. The other more likely possibility is that the use of the same verb is the older, and that a semantic split involving two separate forms developed later.

²⁵⁰ Two separate entries below each other show (1) *leega: coucher, planter être couché*; (2) *leega: poser, mettre, placer* (Nisslé 2008: 241).

Table 5.12 compares Gilbert’s (1972) responses with my 2009 responses for Medina County:

Table 5.12: Resampling: Accusative markings after two-way preposition *auf*

Gilbert (1972) Map 56: (case of definite article after prepositions)
 “Put it on the floor!” SG *Tu es auf den Boden!*
 URA *Mach’s an d’r Boda!*

<i>Gilbert (1972): 27</i>		<i>Roesch (2009)</i>	<i>27</i>
URA NOM/ACC:	(41%)	(64%)	
an d(ə)ř	23, 24, 25	239, 248	2
uf d’ř (dəř)	4, 19	238, 247, 249a, 254, 256	5
uf də	8, 9, 20, 27	202, 235, 242, 250, 251	5
an də	21	234, 257	2
auf də	18	-	
SG ACC forms for auf, an:	(22%) 1, 5, 11, 12 , 13, 15	-	
DAT forms for auf, an:	(22%) 3, 6, 7 , 10, 14, 26	(36%) 237, 240, 241, 249c, 252a, 252b, 253, 255	8
SG NOM: auf der	(4%) 17	-	
Other: (11%) unknown: [not polled:	2, (15), 16, 22	- 233 236, 243, 249b, 249d	1 4]

²⁵¹ Gilbert’s (1972) translation of “put” here is somewhat surprising, as *tu* is a colloquial form. SG would prescribe *leg*.

The juxtaposition of these two tables indicates that the NA/D opposition in URA has been well-maintained by TxAls speakers (64% produced the URA accusative form). The URA case opposition NA/D could be a factor in the preservation of the dative case in TxAls. Boas (2009a: 209) notes a tendency in New Braunfels TxG to maintain the N/AD opposition characteristic of TxG donor dialects, and observes a continued decrease in dative case markings indicating a movement toward a nominative/non-nominative distinction already identified by Eikel (1949: 279) and Gilbert (1965: 109), which he attributes to internal factors (Boas 2009b). This would support an argument for internal factors influencing the retention of URA dative case markings in TxAls. However, given that dative case markings seem to be unusual when compared to the predominant TxG dialect, and that this marked feature has been retained by TxAls speakers, this might also suggest that attitudinal factors are influencing the preservation of dative case markings in TxAls.

5.4.3 Number and plural formation

The noun in URA is marked only for number due to (1) the loss of final *-n* in masculine nouns, e.g., *Boda* ('soil, floor'), *Waga* ('car'), *Ofa* ('oven'), and (2) periphrastic constructions using prepositions for the dative and genitive functions (cf. Table 5.3). In general, there is evidence of adherence to the URA system of plural formation by TxAls speakers (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 319, Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003: 117,) as described in §5.3 (TxAls examples in parentheses, orthography from Nisslé 2008):

1. No change in form: e.g., most masculine nouns whose stem vowels cannot be umlauted, *Äpfel* ('apple/s'), *Gàrta* ('garden/s'); some neuter as with *Johr* ('year/s'); and fem. nouns ending in *-a*, like *Blüama* ('flower/s');
2. No suffix, but the stem vowel is umlauted: e.g., masc. nouns *Krüag* – *Kriag* ('jug – jugs') and fem. nouns, as *Küah* – *Kiah* ('cow – cows');
3. *-a* suffix: e.g. neut. nouns *Ohr* – *Ohra* ('ear – ears'), *Äig* – *Äiga* ('eye – eyes') animate masc. nouns *Bür* – *Büra* ('farmer – farmers'), and fem. nouns as with *Gaiss* – *Gaissa* ('goat – goats');
4. *-er* suffix, with the stem vowel umlauted where possible: e.g., masc. nouns *Mànn* – *Manner* ('man – men'), fem. nouns *Hüen* – *Hiener* ('hen – hens'), and neut. nouns, *Hüs* – *Hieser* ('house – houses').

Of the twelve Gilbert items examining variation in the formation of noun plurals, four items investigated SG plural forms identical to the singular as described in (1) above (two windows, room, plates, wagons), four targeted plural formation with SG stem umlauting as described in (2) (two gardens, daughters, heads, cooking pots), and the remaining four examined SG plurals similar to (3) involving SG plural affixes *-e* with or without umlaut and *-n* (two pieces, cows, boys, goats). Several phrases indirectly provided the plural affix *-er* described in (4), as in “The little children see her,” SG *Die kleine Kinder sehen sie*, URA *D' kleine Kinder sahne sie*. The string of plural tasks translated by 2009 TxAls speakers yielded the following predominant forms (Table 5.13):

Table 5.13: 2009 Texas Alsatian plural formation

1. no change	<i>Fansteř</i>	‘windows’	80 % ²⁵²	Table 4.5 Table 5.14
	<i>Zimmeř</i>	‘rooms’	96 %	
	<i>Talleř/Plàta</i> ²⁵³	‘plates’	54/ 35%	
	<i>Wàga</i>	‘wagons’	100 %	
	<i>Hàfa</i>	‘cooking pots’	55% ²⁵⁴	
	<i>Gàrta</i>	‘gardens’	78%	
2. Umlaut	<i>Tochteř</i>	‘daughters’	63 %	Table 5.14
	<i>Kopf/Kepf</i>	‘heads’	50/50%	Table 5.14
	<i>Kia</i>	‘cows’	96 %	
3. <i>-a</i> (<i>-wa</i>)	<i>Geisa</i>	‘goats’	78 %	Table 4.14
	<i>Bü(e)wa/</i>	‘boys’	67/22 %	
	<i>Bü(e)wala</i> ²⁵⁵			
4. <i>-er</i>	<i>Kinderř</i>	‘children’	92 %	

Gilbert’s (1972) Map 61 which surveyed plural formation for the item “two windows,” SG *zwei Fenster* [fɛnstɛ] and URA *zwei Fansteř* [fanʃtəř], was discussed in Chapter Four to substantiate the phonological distinction between [ɛ] in TxAls and [a] in TxG in identical lexical contexts. Reviewing Table 4.5, this time with regard to plural formation, shows that Gilbert’s (1972) eight fluent Alsatian-speaking participants in Medina County all produced the prescribed URAMul plural form of no appended suffix (as in SG). Three of the five participants noted earlier for dialect-mixing produced the phonological variation [fɛnʃtəř].²⁵⁶ The re-sampling for the same item showed that 80% (20/25) of this study’s participants produced the URA form. Two additional participants

²⁵² Percentages are calculated upon the actual number of productions, i.e., they do not include “unknown” and “not polled.”

²⁵³ One speaker identified this form (*Plàta*) as Castroville Alsatian “slang.”

²⁵⁴ The occurrence of multiple lexical variants such as *Pfan*, *Topf*, *Geschirr*, *Schüssel*, and *Pot* influenced the percentage figures, as it did for the item *Talleř/Plàta*.

²⁵⁵ *sing. Būa*. Speakers also produced the diminutive form *Bü(e)wala* “little boys.”

²⁵⁶ Note SG/TxG influence of $\varepsilon \sim a$.

produced variants, *Fanschteřs* and *Fanschtřa*, the first²⁵⁷ likely influenced by English plural forms, with the latter more likely a case of morphological transference of the URA suffix *-a* added to most feminine nouns.

There was a high degree of concurrence of TxAls plural forms with those of URA where (1) no change was stipulated (*Fansteř*, *Zimmeř*, *Talleř*, *Wàga*, *Büa*, *Gàrta*), or (2) with those requiring the rarer ending *-er* (*Kinderř*), but plural forms with a vowel stem umlaut showed variation (*Tochter*, *Topf*, and *Kopf/Kepf*). Table 5.14 - 5.16 tabulate the 2009 responses for the singular and plural forms of “head,” “cooking pot,” and “daughters” (all of which involve a vowel stem umlaut in both URA and SG plural formation) in order to investigate the degree of maintenance or loss of plural forms:

Table 5.14: 2009 Resampling of plural formation for *Kopf* (‘head’)

“head/s” in “my head” and “Two heads are better than one.”
SG *Kopf/Köpfe*, URA *Kopf/Kepf*

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>		(27)
kopf	202, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 247, 248, 249a, 249b, 249c, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257	kepf	202, 234, 238, 239, 240, 241, 248, 249b, 250, 252b, 254, 256	12
	26	kopf	233, 235, 236, 237, 247, 249a, 249c, 251, 252a, 253, 255, 257	12
[not polled: 242	1	(242), 243, 249d		3]

²⁵⁷ This participant was an Irish woman born in Poteet, who learned Alsatian when she married. She was 96 years old at the time of the interview.

One half of the 2009 participants have maintained the URA form, *Kepf*. Gilbert's (1972) data for Medina County (Map 29) showed that eleven of the thirteen (84%) TxAls produced the URA plural form, *Kepf*. This indicates a decrease in use of this particular plural form among TxAls speakers today. Table 5.15 examines the similar lexical item *Topf* ('pot'), which has an identical plural affix.

Table 5.15: Resampling of plural formation for *Topf* ('pot')

"cooking pot/s," SG (*Koch*)*topf*/*töpfe*
 URA (*Koch*)*hàfa*/*ø* oder (*Koch*)*depfi*

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
-hə:fa (URA)	202, 235, 237, 240, 243, 249a, 249c, 249d, 251, 253, 257	-həfa: (URA)	202, 237, 240, 241, 248, 249b, 249c, 249d, 251, 254, 257
	11		11
		-həfas	235
			1
-təpf (SG):	241, 250, 239, 252b	-təpf	239, 252b
	4		2
		-təpfə (SG)	-
			0
OTHER:			
	8+(2)		6
-pfan(la)	234, (235), 236, 238, 248, (250)	-pfan(la)	236, 238, 250
-tʃiř	247	-	
-ʃysel	255	-ʃysla	255
-pət	233, 249b	-pət	233, 252a (pəts)
Unknown:	252a, 253, 256	pl:	247, 253, 256
[not polled:	242		234, 242, 243, 249a
	1		4]

The lexical response *Topf*²⁵⁸ for “pot” was rarely given. The four participants who produced *Topf* in the singular also produced the same form for the plural, although URA plural forms show a stem umlaut (*Depfi*). The URA lexical variant *Hàfa* was preferred by most informants. Overall, Gilbert’s (1972) data (Map 6) also showed a great deal of variation in Medina County, with seven of the thirteen TxAls speakers producing *-topf* (two were not polled), and only one producing *-hàfa*. This is almost a reversal of the responses in my study, where twelve respondents produced *-hàfa*, and four *-topf*.

Table 5.16: Resampling of plural formation for *Techteřa* (‘daughters’)

“two daughters,” SG *zwei Töchter*
URA *zwei Techteřa*

doxtəřa:	202, 238, 254	3
doxt(ə)ř:	233, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 248, 249b, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 255, 256, 257	17
doxtəřs	235, 247, 249a	3
maidla	234, 242, 249c, 243	4

There was no Gilbert item which inquired into the singular form for SG *Tochter* (‘daughter’). Table 5.16 shows that 2009 participants do not utilize the stem umlaut to form the plural, and only three append the plural suffix *-a*. Most speakers produce the same singular form for the plural, illustrating loss of the plural suffix *-a* for this item. On the other hand, masculine nouns ending in *-a* (as in *Hàfa*) whose singular and plural forms are identical have been maintained. This would indicate that there has been a

²⁵⁸ In general, this item posed difficulty for most of the respondents, reflected by hesitation, comments, and discussions who would fluctuate between *pfan*, *hafa*, *kessel* and *topf*, or forget the word they had produced between the tasks for the singular and plural. Contributing to the general confusion was the necessity for most of them to take time separating the differences between these due to shape, size, and function.

general trend to use the singular form for the plural. This regularization of the singular form, as with the definite article, points to a general reduction in morphological markings, i.e., and an increase in zero markings (Salmons 1983: 193-4), who also noted an increase in *-s* and *-n* markers. The use of the *-n* plural marker indicating convergence with TxG forms was not observed in my data, nor was the *-s* marker observed with any significant frequency in narratives or translation tasks (with the exception of Irish native speaker #234), which would indicate any regularity of morphological transference of the English plural marker. There was some indication that the diminutive *-la* was sometimes used as a strategy to compensate for uncertainty in forming the plural. The next section examines the URA diminutive, *-la*.

5.4.4 The diminutive

The isogloss *-el* /*-le* for the diminutive belongs to the isogloss bundle which roughly separates URA from LRA and runs just north of Colmar (see Illustration 4.2). There are two variations of the diminutive in SG, *-chen* and *-lein*. The diminutive *-chen* does not occur in URA, precluded by the lack of [ç]. The second form *-lein* is mainly found in southern dialects with a great deal of variation: *-el*, *-li*, *-la*, *-le*. The diminutive serves two general functions in relation to the noun (Iverson & Salmons 1992). One is to express a physical diminution of an object, as in SG *Haus-Häuschen*, URA *Hüss-Hüssla* (‘house-little house’), and the other is to express affection, as with names *Klara-SG Klärchen*, URA *Klara-Klärle*. Diminutive constructions are also occasionally used to make semantic distinctions, as in the case of SG *Frauchen* vs. *Fräulein*,²⁵⁹ which differentiates between “pet owner” and “Miss.” It is also possible that some TxAls

²⁵⁹ *Fräulein* is now taboo in most contexts.

speakers use the diminutive as a morphological marker for the plural (*Kartoffla*, or *a Pfann/zwei Pfannla*, #238).

Although neither Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) nor Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) specifically include the diminutive in their morphological descriptions, the former often includes the diminutive ending *-la* in chapter dialogs, as in *Tommy, hasch di Gedichtla* *glehrt?* ('Tommy, did you learn the short poems?') (Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003: 55), or *a Diewala fir's Louise!* ('a little pigeon for Louise!') (Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003: 73). No Gilbert (1972) items specifically investigated this feature, but the translation task for "a girl" (Map 110) recorded several lexical variations (see Table 3.5), such as *Mädel*, SG *Mädchen*, and URA *Maidla*, which are all diminutive forms based on the archaic *Magd* ('maiden'). Gilbert's (1972) data shows the replication of the URA diminutive exclusively in Medina County. All twenty-seven 2009 participants also produced the URA *Maidla*.

The recitation of the children's rhyme *Wie luschtig sin d'Mannala* ('How happy are the little men') introducing this chapter, is an informative example of the diminutive brought by Alsatian speakers to Castroville and preserved by TxAls speakers today, not only evidenced in translation tasks, but also in narrative portions of their interviews:

(5.6)

#234: *Añ isch immñ kumma mit a so kleina Säkla* [candy]
'He always came with a small little bag of candy.'

#239: *Mir sin gwohnt drei Mile vu LaCoste, s'Stedtla vu LaCoste.*
'We lived three miles from LaCoste, the little town of LaCoste.'

The pronoun constitutes the last morphological feature associated with the noun to be investigated regarding the extent of its preservation by current TxAls speakers.

5.4.5 Pronouns

This section examines personal pronouns in SG, URAMul, and TxAls, with particular emphasis on the maintenance of case. The personal pronouns in URA, show case and number, and in the 3rd pers.sing., gender. Some pronouns have distinct forms marking case and number, as indicated by the table below. Forms in parentheses represent various forms in unstressed positions (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 323).

Table 5.17: URA personal pronouns²⁶⁰

	URA	SG /gloss	URA	SG/gloss	URA	SG/gloss
	1 st		2 nd		3 rd	
Nom.sing.	[ix] (i)	ich ‘I’	[dy:] (də)	du ‘you’	[a:ř] (əř) [si] (si) [as] (s)	er ‘he’ sie ‘she’ es ‘it’
Nom.pl.	[mɪř] (məř)	wir ‘we’	[ɪ:ř] (əř)	ihr ‘you’	[si] (si)	sie ‘they’
Acc.sing.	[mɪx] (mi)	mich ‘me’	[dɪx] (di)	dich ‘you’	[ɪ:n] (n) [si] (si) [as, ɪ:ns]	ihn ‘him’ sie ‘her’ es ‘it’
Acc.pl.	[ʊns]	uns ‘us’	[ɛix]	euch ‘you’	[si] (si)	sie ‘they’
Dat.sing.	[mɪř] (məř)	mir ‘me’	[dɪř]	euch ‘you’	[ɪm] (əm) [ɪř] (əř) [ɪm] (əm)	ihn ‘him’ ihr ‘her’ ihm ‘him’
Dat.pl.	[ʊns]	uns ‘us’	[ɛix]	euch ‘you’	[ɪ:nə]	ihnen ‘them’

Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 323) note the use of the acc.neut.sing. form *ihns* SG *es* (‘it’) in several Alsatian dialects, which “can only designate a person of female sex, generally a young girl.”

²⁶⁰ SG Rankin & Wells (2001: 221); URAMul Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003: 119); URACol Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 323).

In the discussion of case markings and determiners in §5.4.2, the merger of the nominative and accusative in URA noted by Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) was substantiated in TxAls. These authors also observed the incompleteness of this merger in several Colmar determiner forms as well as in the pronominal system which showed the maintenance of a three-way case distinction (N/A/D). This section investigates pronoun use in TxAls to determine whether this three-way distinction has also been maintained.

Gilbert's (1972) data offers eight opportunities to examine pronoun use in TxAls. Five of the items investigate SG dative pronouns: *mir* ('me') (2), *ihr* ('she') (2), and plural *ihnen* ('them') (1). The remaining three examine the acc.fem.sing. *sie* ('her') (1) and the nom.pl. *wir* ('we') (2). Gilbert's (1972) Map 28 and 34 recorded the responses for the nom.pl. SG *wir* URA *miř* and the SG dat.fem. *ihr* URA *iř*. It is to be noted that both these pronouns are shared by other TxG dialects, but the trilled *ř* distinguishes TxAls from other dialects in Medina County. Unfortunately, in this data set, Gilbert's (1972) transcriptions did not differentiate between various realizations of /r/, which would have definitively identified TxAls from speakers of other dialects in Medina County. Table 5.18 shows Gilbert's (1972) recorded responses and this study's data for the nom.pl. SG *wir* in Medina County:

Table 5.18: Resampling of nominative personal pronoun *wir* (‘we’)

Gilbert (1972) Map 28: “We went with her”
 SG Wir *gingen mit ihr*, URA Miř *sin mit ihnra gànga*.

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i>	27	<i>Roesch (2009)</i>	27
<hr/>			
mi(:)r (URA)	1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27	mi:ř (məř) 202, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 247, 248, 249a, 249b, 249c, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257	26: 100%
vi:r (SG)	2, 3, 5, (6), 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 22	(241)	
[not polled:		243	1]

A total of eighteen Gilbert (1972) participants, including twelve of the thirteen Alsatian speakers, produced the (URA) pronoun *mir*, illustrating this overlap of the pronoun with other German dialects. Gilbert’s LG speakers (2, 11, 16, 22), however, all produced the SG *wir*. Of importance here is that all 2009 TxAls speakers used the (URA) pronoun *miř* or its unstressed variant *meř* with the apical trill.

Table 5.19 examines responses for SG dat.fem. pronoun *ihr* URA *iř* (unstressed *eř*) after the preposition categorized for the dative, *mit* (‘with’):

Table 5.19: Resampling of dative personal pronoun *ihr* ('her')

Gilbert (1972) Map 34: "We went with her"
 SG Wir *gingen mit ihr*, URA *Miř sin mit ihnřa/ihř gànga*.

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i> 27		<i>Roesch (2009)</i>		27
<hr/>				
(SG) DAT.fem. <u>i:r</u>		(URA) <u>iř, əř</u>		
2, 3, 4 , 6, 7 , 8 , 11,		202, 237, 238, 242,		
12 , 13, 15, 16, 17,		247, 248, 251, 254	8: 31%	
20 , 21 , 23 , 24 , 25 ,				
26 , 27				
DAT. demonstratives:		deř	239	1
9 (sa:ləř)		salřə	-	
DAT.masc.		im	234	1
		dam	256	1
<hr/>				
ACC.fem.				
zi:, si:	1, 5, 10, 14, 18, 19		233, 236, 240, 241,	
			249a, 255, 257	7: 27%
Other ACC pronoun forms:		sali ^f	235, 253	2
		e:ns ²⁶¹	252b	1
		as	249b, 249c, 249d	3
ENG “her”			252a	1
he:	22	heř	250	1
[not polled:			243	1]

Gilbert's (1972) data show a 74% use of the dative marking [r] after the SG dative preposition *mit* ('with'), while only 35% of the 2009 participants produced the feminine dative marking. Two other speakers produced the masculine form, which could have been a result of misunderstanding the prompt. Still, if these are included, only 42% responded with a form marked for the dative. 35% also used feminine accusative forms,

²⁶¹ The pronoun *ins* is used for the accusative neuter "girl" in URA.

with an additional 15% producing the accusative neuter also acceptable in this context, totaling a 50% usage of acceptable accusative forms. In general, the 2009 responses show variation (including the insertion of the English pronoun “her”) in the usage of dative and accusative forms, suggesting some merging of these two cases. Whether this is due to external influences of language contact with English and other TxG dialects or internal tendencies is difficult to ascertain.

A look at the production of the accusative plural pronoun SG *sie* URA *sie* (‘them’) in the Gilbert’s (1972) phrase, “The little children see her,” is shown in Table 5.20.

Table 5.20: Resampling of accusative personal pronoun *sie* (‘her’)

Gilbert (1972) Map 32: “The little children see her.”
SG *Die kleinen Kinder sehen sie*, URA *D'klaina Kinder sahne sie*.

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>Roesch (2009)</i>	<i>27</i>
ACC. zi:, si: 1, 5, 8 , 10 , 11, 12 , 17, 18 , 19 , 20 , 21 , 22, 23 , 24 , 25 , 27		(URA si:) 202, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 247, 248, 249a, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257	18: 78%
as, ens (URA.neut):		249b, 249d, 252a, 252b	4: 17%
ACC. demonstratives: di:		(250)	(1)
sali (URA) 9		235	1: 4%
DAT. (SG) i:r	2, 3, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, (21), 26		
ENG høe	4 , 16		
unknown:		233, 249c	2
not polled:		242, 243	2

The Gilbert (1972) informants showed variation between the accusative (59%) and dative (33%) pronouns, whereas the 2009 participants all produced an acceptable variant of accusative pronouns (96% produced an accurate translation of “her”). In reviewing these 2009 results with the previous table, there appears to be loss of dative pronouns, such as those for “her,” but particularly for the URA dative “them.” For instance, only two participants in this study could produce the dative plural pronoun in the phrase, “The picture belongs to them.” Table 5.21 illustrates the use of first person pronouns

Table 5.21: 2009 Resampling of first person pronoun in nom/acc/dat contexts

<hr/>		
“We went with her,” URA <i>Miř sin mit ihnra gànga.</i>		
(a) NOM [mi:ř (meř)] (Table 5.16)		26: 100%
[not polled:		1]
<hr/>		
“He pinches <u>me</u> ,” URA <i>Ař pfatzt mich.</i>		
(b) ACC [mɪx (mi)]	202, 234, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 247, 249a, 249c, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 254, 255, 256, 257	20: 91%
dɪx	238	1
si:	248	1
unknown: “pinches”	253	1
[not polled:	233, 242, 243, 249b	4]
<hr/>		
“He came with <u>me</u> ,” URA <i>Ař isch mit meř kuma.</i>		
(c) DAT [mi:ř (meř)]	202, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 247, 248, 249c, 249d, 250, 251, 252b, 254, 255, 256, 257	20: 80%
mɪx	240, 249a, 249b, 252a, 253	5
unknown:	233	1
[not polled:	243	1]
<hr/>		

The first person singular pronouns seem to be fairly intact in all positions, as illustrated by Table 5.21. The nominative *miř* ('I') is produced by all polled TxAls speakers, the accusative *mich* ('me') by 87%, and the dative *miř* ('me') by 77% in the above phrases. 19% of the speakers produced the accusative pronoun *mich* in the dative context, indicating some loss of the dative form. There was also noticeable difficulty in producing the 2nd person plural *iř* 'you' produced in the one phrase, "You were both here yesterday," which investigated equivalent translations of the English past tense. These responses are shown in Table 5.22.

Table 5.22: Resampling of nominative personal pronoun *ihr* ('you')

Gilbert(1972) Map 99: "You were both here yesterday."
 SG *Ihr wart beide gestern hier*, URA *Iř sin baida geschtert do gseh*.

<i>Gilbert (1972):</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>Roesch (2009)</i>	<i>27</i>
<hr/>			
i(:)r zin(t) (URA):			
	8, 9, 19, 21, 22	202, 237, 238, 239, 247,	
	23, 24, 25, 27	248, 249b, 249c, 250,	
		251, 252b, 253, 254,	
		256, 257	15: 71%
i:r vart (SG)	1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10,	-	
	11, 12 , 15, 17		
i:r va:rən	18	-	
Other pronouns:			
§ 1 st /3 rd pl.	2, 4 , 13, 14, 17, 20	234, 236, 255, 241	4: 19%
Sing. 2 nd /3 rd		235 (dü/ař), 252a (dü)	2: 10%
Unknown:		240, 249a	2
[not polled:	26	233, 242, 243, 249d	4]

Despite the usual hesitation and contemplation, 65% of the 2009 informants produced the URA nominative plural form, which perhaps can be accounted for by its nominative function in this phrase. Almost without exception, TxAls speakers circumvent the use of the 2nd person pronouns *iř* (nom.) and *eich* (acc., dat.) in conversation, directly addressing the person with *dü*. In general, however, the URA personal pronoun system has been maintained fairly consistently by a majority of the TxAls speakers, as the above analyses have shown.

Besides personal pronouns, the URA relative pronoun *wu*²⁶² ('who/m, that') is also still used by a number of TxAls speakers who produce complex sentences, as in the following examples:

(5.7)

#234: *un hàn mit d' Wiebr, wu kla:i Babies kà hàn, . . .*

SG: und haben mit den Weibern, die kleine Babies gehabt haben, . . .
'and washed for the women, who had small babies'

#239: *drno sin mir in nàmliga Hüs gsei, wu mini Muettr isch dett g'labt*

SG: Danach sind wir in demselben Haus gewesen, wo meine Mutter
gelebt hat
'after that we were in the same house, where my mother lived'

#248: *Dert isch der Mànn wu n ich will sah.*

SG: Da ist der Mann, den ich sehen will.
'there is the man who I want to see.' (see Table 5.22)

This last speaker reproduces the insertion *-n* in front of an initial vowel as described by Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 332), reminiscent of French liaison.

URA has only one uninflected relative pronoun *wu* ('who, that') used to introduce all relative clauses of an antecedent, whether the noun be a person, place, or thing. Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003: 119) state that the relative pronoun in URAMul "*es*

²⁶² *Wu* is also used for the conjunction *als* or *wenn* ('when'), as in "Mir han Elsass g'reddt, *wu* mir in d'Schüel sin (#234) 'we spoke Alsatian when we were in school.'

invariable et unique. Wu est utilisé pour qui et que, sujet ou complément.”²⁶³ The relative pronoun does not show number, gender, or case. Comparatively, the SG relative pronouns show number, gender, and case, and are as varied as its determiners. Table 5.23 shows the inflected relative pronoun forms in SG:

Table 5.23: SG personal relative pronouns
(Rankin & Wells 2001: 334)

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
Nom	der	die	das	die
Acc	den	die	das	die
Dat	dem	der	dem	denen
Gen	dessen	deren	dessen	denen

Two Gilbert translation tasks investigated the use of the relative pronoun /vʊ/, one in an accusative masculine context and the other in a plural.

²⁶³ “It is invariable and unique. **Wu** is used for *who* and *what*, subject or object.”

Table 5.24: Resampling of relative pronouns

Gilbert (1972) Map 37: “There’s the man who I want to see.”
 SG *Da ist der Mann, den ich sehen will,*
 URA *Dert isch dñr MÀN, wu n ich sahna will.*

<i>Gilbert (1972): 27</i>		<i>Roesch (2009)</i>	<i>27</i>
vo (colloq.):	4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27	vo (URA): 202, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238,* 239, 241, 247, 248,* 250, 251, 252b, 254, 255, 257 * <i>vu –n ich</i>	17
sal	23		
vas	1, 2, 3, 10, 12, (14), 15, 16	253	1
de:n (SG)	5, 11	-	
Ø	26	240, 249a, 249c, 252a, 256	5
[not polled:		242, 243, 249b, 249d	4]

Sixteen Gilbert participants (59%) produced the more colloquial pronoun *wo* as the relative pronoun for the SG masculine noun *Mann* (‘man’). Eleven of the thirteen Alsatian speakers used this same pronoun, and the twelfth speaker employed the URA demonstrative *sal* (‘that’). It is not possible to ascertain whether these same speakers produced the front unrounded vowel /u/ indicative of URA due to the notation practices of the fieldworkers. The other colloquial German form *was* (‘what’), that also does not show gender, case, or number, was used by 30% of the participants in Gilbert’s study. Seventeen of the twenty-three participants (74%) who were able to render the phrase in Alsatian used the URA relative pronoun *wu*, which shows a high degree of preservation

of this form. This is not surprising, as there is only one relative pronoun versus SG's sixteen. However, it is surprising that such a large percentage still produce complex sentences utilizing a relative pronoun.

This concludes the analyses on various grammatical representations of the noun in functions of case, number, and gender. I now turn briefly to the verb to examine the degree of maintenance of URA distinctive features by current Alsatian speakers in Medina County.

5.5 THE UPPER RHINE ALSATIAN VERB

There is also areal variation within the regional URA dialect for the verb as evidenced by differences between the Mulhouse description given by Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) and the Colmar dialect described by Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989). This will be indicated by providing alternate forms in parentheses.

URA maintains strong, weak, preterite-present and monosyllabic verbs indicative of Low Alemannic. Monosyllabic verbal infinitives do not exist in SG, and are rare in URA (TxALs lexical items from the *EW* are provided for comparison):

Table 5.25: Upper Rhine Alsatian monosyllabic verbs

<i>URAMul (Col)</i> ²⁶⁴	<i>TxAls (EW)</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
1. ga [ka:]	gawa, ²⁶⁵ abga	geben	‘to give’
2. geh [ke:]	gey	gehen	‘to go’
3. hà [ha]	hon	haben	‘to have’
4. loh [lu:]	los	lassen	‘to let’
5. sah [sa:]	sah	sehen	‘to see’
6. see [si:]	sey	sein	‘to be’
7. steh [ʃte:]	steh	stehen	‘to stand’

The infinitives of other verbs end in *-a* [-ə] (see Table 5.27). Like most Upper German dialects, URA employs only the present perfect tense to express the past and exhibits no preterite tense (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 328). The future is mainly expressed via temporal adverbials such as *morga* (‘tomorrow’) or *nachschta Wucha* (‘next week’) with the present tense (also acceptable in SG) in Colmar, but Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003: 120) describe the Mulhouse dialect as forming the future with *wara* [vɔ:řə] SG *werden* (‘to become’) + infinitive as in SG. The passive voice is formed with the verb *wara* (SG *werden*) and past participle in both areas, as also prescribed in SG. Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) state that the present subjunctive (Subjunctive I) of indirect speech is used

²⁶⁴ Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003: 121) only provided orthographic representations, while Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989: 326) represented these monosyllabic verbs phonetically. Note the variation between Mulhouse and Colmar forms for “to see” and “to let.”

²⁶⁵ The infinitive given most likely represents a variation in TxAls, both in form and meaning. The infinitive for SG *abgeben* (‘to hand in, deliver, surrender’) was designated as *abga* (‘to give up’), and SG *ausgeben* (‘to spend’) as *üs-gawa* (‘to distribute, disperse’).

solely by the older generation in Colmar, and Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) note that the Subjunctive I is encountered only in the present tense for the auxiliaries *see* and *hà*. The conditional for the temporal auxiliaries is well-attested in both dialect areas.

Strong and weak verbs distinguish between three personal endings in the singular (*-ø*, *-sch*, *-t*), but only one in the plural (*-a*), whereas the other verbs exhibit varying forms in the singular, but also one form in the plural (Phillip & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 324, Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003: 120):

Table 5.26: URA verb endings

URA *màcha* [mɔxɑ] SG *machen* ('make, to do')

<i>Person</i>	<i>Stem</i>	<i>URA ending</i>	<i>SG ending</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
ich	màch	-	e	'I make'
dü	màch	sch	st	'you make'
ar, as, sie	màch	t	t	'he, it, she makes'
mir	màch	a	en	'we make'
ihr	màch	a	t	'you make'
sie	màch	a	en	'they make'

Unlike SG, weak verbs and most strong verbs (1 - 4) maintain the same stem vowel in the present as in the infinitive. In SG, the second and third person often exhibit an umlauted vowel in the present, e.g., *ich schlafe*, *du schläfst*, *er schläft* ('I sleep, you sleep, he sleeps'). However, there is vowel gradation between the infinitive and the past participle of strong verbs, as shown in Table 5.27:

Table 5.27: Infinitive and past participle verb forms

<i>URA</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>URA Past participle</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
1. heera, hera	hören	g'heert [k ^h e:rt]	'to hear'
2. màcha	machen	g'màcht [gmɔxt]	'to do, make'
3. assa	essen	gassa [gasə]	'to eat'
4. bàcha	backen	gabàcha [gəbɔxə]	'to bake'
5. finda	finden	g'funda [gfundə]	'to find'
6. halfa	helfen	g'hulfa [k ^h ulfə]	'to help'
6. namma	nehmen	g'numma [gnɔmə]	'to take'
7. schriewa	schreiben	g'schriwa [gʃri:və]	'to write'
8. verliara	verlieren	verlorə [fɛ:lɔʁə]	'to lose'

The past participle is formed with the prefix *g-* in URA, which is often pronounced as /k-/ before certain initial consonants, e.g. URA *g'keert* [k^he:rt], SG *gehört* ('heard'). Strong verb past participles end in an unstressed /a/ or /ə/,²⁶⁶ as in URA *g'hulfa* [k^hulfə], SG *geholfen* ('helped') and weak verb past participles end in /t/ as in URA *gwascht* [kvaʃt], SG *gewaschen* ('washed'). Three irregular temporal auxiliaries are utilized to form the present perfect and future tenses (Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003: 121): (1) URA *hà*, SG *haben* ('to have'), (2) URA *see*, SG *sein* ('to be'), and (3) URA *wara*, SG *werden* ('to become'). The authors also provide a full declination of the indicative, conditional, and

²⁶⁶ In URAMul, the infinitive ends in the unstressed vowel /a/ expressed by the grapheme *a*. Further to the north, in URACol, the infinitive is described as ending in /ə/. In TxAls, there is also variation of /a/ and /ə/ in utterances of the infinitive, with the distinction between these two sounds difficult to detect. In the *EW*, it is recorded with the grapheme *e*.

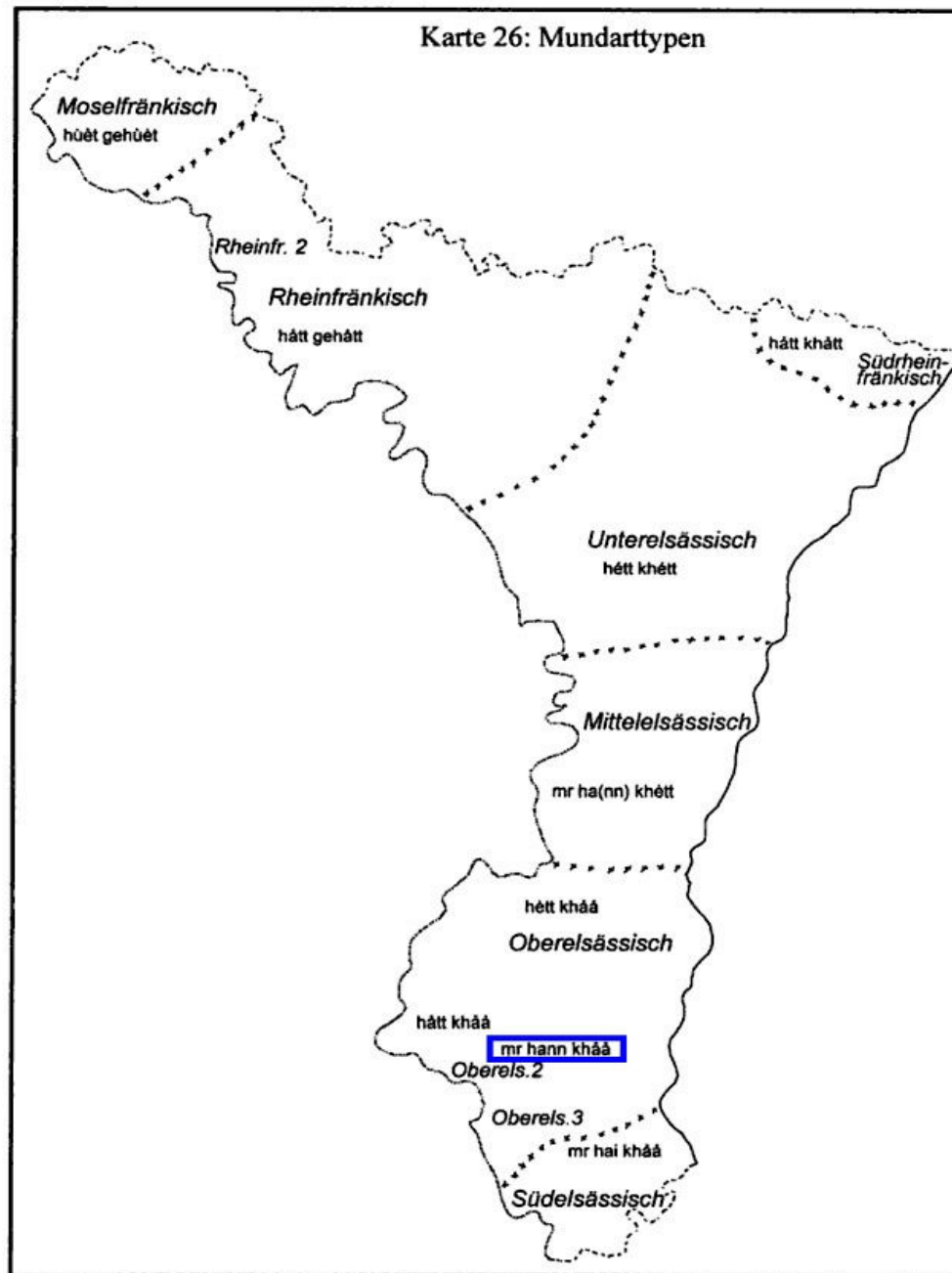
subjunctive forms of these verbs. The following tables depict indicative conjugations of URAMul *see* and *hà* used to form the present perfect, which provide a comparative basis when examining TxAls:

Table 5.28: Temporal auxiliaries

URA [se:] SG *sein* ('to be') and [hə] SG *haben* ('to have')
(URACol in parentheses)

	<i>present</i>	+ <i>participle</i>		<i>present</i>	+ <i>participle</i>
ich	bin	g'see [kse:] (g'si)	ich	hàn (hà)	g'hà [k ^h à] (g'het)
dü	bisch		dü	hàsch (hesch)	
ar, as, sie	isch		ar, as, sie	hàt (het)	
mir	sin		mir	hàn (han)	
ihr	sin		ihr	hàn (han)	
sie	sin		sie	hàn (han)	

Again, there is slight regional variation in past participle forms and in all declinations of *hà* ('to have'). In fact, there is great variation throughout the Alsace in these forms of the temporal auxiliaries *hà* SG *haben* ('to have') and *see* SG *sein* ('to be'), as exemplified by Philipp & Weider's (2002: 98) map of the present perfect forms of *haben* in Illustration 5.1.



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Illustration 5.1: ALS present perfect forms of *haben* (Philipp & Weider 2002)

For example, viewing the variations of *hà* immediately pinpoints a speaker's use²⁶⁷ of one of these forms with a fairly exact locality. Illustration 5.1 (Philipp & Weider 2002: 98), shows the variation in the present perfect forms of *hà*, and reveals the capability of correlating a specific form to its exact geographic location. According to this 2002 representation, Philipp & Bothorel-Witz' (1989) description already reveals a southward spread of the middle Alsatian forms. The TxAls form [hann k^hà:] SG *wir haben gehabt* ('we had') is easily matched with the URAMul form *mr hann khàä*.²⁶⁸

The historical preterite-present verbs *derfa* SG *dürfen* ('to be allowed to'), *müessa* (*mien*) SG *müssen* ('to have to'), *solla* SG *sollen* ('to be supposed to'), *mega* (*maje*) SG *mögen* ('to want'), *kenna* SG *können* ('to be able to'), and *wella* SG *wollen* ('to want'), constitute the set of modal auxiliaries in URA (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 327; Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003: 121). A participle with *g-* does not exist in URA as in SG (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 327), whether in Mulhouse or Colmar. Instead, the infinitive is used. An interesting feature of the modal present perfect is its syntactic positioning in the sentence. In URA, the modal *precedes* the dependent infinitive, whereas in SG (Rankin & Wells 2001: 107-8), it follows the dependent infinitive. In SG, this double infinitive construction is preferred over the past participle in constructing the present perfect to the past participle, but with the modal infinitive in last position (modal infinitives and their auxiliary are italicized, dependent infinitives are underlined):

²⁶⁷ Philipp & Weider (2002: 13) note: „Als allgegenwärtige unbetonte Elemente der Rede sind sie als Grundpfeiler einer jeden Äußerung zu betrachten. Die Häufigkeit und die Mannigfaltigkeit der Belege sorgen dafür, dass sie von jedem Sprecher unbewusst benutzt werden und immer ‚echt‘ klingen.“ ('As speech elements that are never stressed, they [pres.perf. forms] can be viewed as the mainstay of every utterance. The frequency and variation of these forms ensures that they are used unconsciously by every speaker and always sound native-like.')

²⁶⁸ Philipp & Weider utilize the following transcription conventions: Vowel length is denoted by a double vowel; *â* is used for what they describe as a velarized /a/. Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) consistently use the lax vowel notation *a* for this velarized /a/, but Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) transcribe this as /ɔ/.

(5.8):

URA: Aǎ *hât* nitt *kenna* tànza.

SG: Er *hat* nicht tanzen *können*.
'he could not dance.'

The TxAls representation of this syntactic maintenance of the URA modal verbs is examined in §5.7. The following section discusses maintenance of the URA verb tenses and forms.

5.6 THE VERB IN TEXAS ALSATIAN

Compared with its URA donor dialect(s), TxAls exhibits a reduction in verb function associated mainly with mood and voice, but tense and inflectional endings have been maintained to a remarkable degree. For example, TxAls has maintained strong and weak verbs (§5.6.1), modal auxiliaries (§5.6.3) (including the emphatic or conditional modal *düe*), and LAlem monosyllabic verbs (cf. Table 5.25). Not surprisingly, the past tense is communicated exclusively via the “double perfect” which utilizes the URA temporal auxiliaries *hâ* [hə] SG *haben* (‘to have’) and *see* [se:] SG *sein* (‘to be’) (see §5.6.2). The following sub-sections examine past tense representations and the functional nature and scope of temporal and modal auxiliaries.

5.6.1 The present perfect tense

Upper German dialects typically do not exhibit preterite forms and express the past tense with the present perfect. In the Standard, at least, preterite forms are mainly confined to formal written registers except for the limited use of certain preterite forms of temporal (*war* ‘was’, *hatte* ‘had’) and modal auxiliaries (*wollte* ‘wanted’, *konnte* ‘could’) in oral contexts. The gradual loss of the preterite in Upper and Middle German dialects

and in German *Sprachinseln* has been well-documented (e.g., Rowley 1983, Louden 1988, Nützel 1998, Rosenberg 2003) and is generally attributed to internal developments. Gilbert (1972) also records general loss of the preterite in responses to three items which specifically investigated the translation of the past tense into preterite or present perfect forms (Gilbert's items targeting verb forms focused on present indicative forms).

Boas (2009a: 224), however, reports a degree of variability in the use of the preterite among New Braunfels informants. For example, Boas records a significant rise (58%) in use of the preterite for Gilbert's item "He arrived yesterday," SG *Er kam gestern (an)* versus a downward trend in the use of the preterite for the phrases "We went home" and "You were both here yesterday," and expresses a need to analyze more verbs. For TxAls speakers, however, the results should be fairly obvious given the absence of the preterite in URA varieties. The above-mentioned Gilbert items are evaluated in the following Tables 5.29, 5.30, and 5.31, which investigated the use of the present perfect versus the preterite for past tense translations. Boas' (2009a) results are shown in italics on the far right for comparison.

Table 5.29: Present perfect versus preterite for SG *kommen* ('to come')

Gilbert (1972) Map 97: "He arrived yesterday."
 SG *Er kam gestern (an)*,²⁶⁹ URA *Ař isch geschteřt àkumma*.

Gilbert (1972):	27	Roesch (2009):	27	Boas (2009a)
<i>Perfect: ist . . . gekommen</i>	(96%)	<i>isch . . . kumma</i>	(100%)	40%
subj + fin.v.(ist) + adv. + p.part.: (25): 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27		(11): 236, 237, 239, ²⁷⁰ 241, 247, 249a,* ²⁷¹ 249c, 252b, 253, 254, 255		
subj + fin.v.(ist) + p.part. + adv.: ²⁷² -		(11): 202, 234, 235, 238, 240, 248, 250, 251, 252a, 256, 257*		
<i>Preterite:</i>	(4%)		(0%)	58%
subj + pret. + adv.: (1): 11 ²⁷³		-		
[Not polled: 26		(5): 233, 242, 243, 249b, 249d]		

Both Gilbert's (1972) responses and the 2009 resampling show almost exclusive use of the present perfect tense for the SG separable verb *ankommen* ('to arrive'). Conversely, Boas (2009a)' figures show a high percentage (58%) of use of the preterite form *kam* in

²⁶⁹ The SG verb for "to arrive" is actually *ankommen*, and the separable prefix would occur at the end of the sentence: *Er kam gestern an*.

²⁷⁰ This speaker placed the adverb first (adv + fin.v.(ist) + subj + p.p.), which also constitutes an acceptable grammatical construction.

²⁷¹ The asterisk indicates speakers who utilized a form of the grammatically incorrect temporal auxiliary URA *hàn* or SG *haben*, instead of URA *see* or SG *sein*.

²⁷² This variant does not follow SG or URA word order, i.e. the past participle's placement at the end of a clause or sentence. Word order is discussed in §5.7.

²⁷³ Gilbert (1972: 17) participant #11, born in 1888, studied law for 4.5 years, indicating a high level of education, which might account for his use of the preterite. His father was a Bavarian "who never used dialect."

Comal County versus a 40% use of the SG “double perfect” *sind...angekommen*. The second item which investigated use of the preterite versus present perfect examined the SG strong verb *gehen* (‘to go’). The results are shown in Table 5.30.

Table 5.30: Present perfect versus preterite for SG *gehen* (‘to go’)

Gilbert (1972) Map 98: “We went home.”
SG *Wir gingen nach Hause*, URA *Miř sin heim gànga*.

Gilbert (1972):	27	Roesch (2009):	27	Boas (2009a)
<i>Perfect: sint. . .gəgəŋən</i>	(93%)	URA: <i>sin. . . gɔŋə</i>	(100%)	92%
subj. + fin.v. + past part.: (25): 1, 2, 3, 4 , 5, 6, 7, 8 , 9, 10, 12 , 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 , 19 , 20 , 21 , 22 , 23 , 24 , 25 , 27		(19): 202, ²⁷⁴ 234, 235, 236,* 237, 238, 239, 241, 247, 248, 249a,* 249c, 250, 251, 252a,* 252b, 253, 254, ²⁷⁵ 255, 256, 257		
<i>Preterite: giŋən</i> : 11, 26	(7%)		(0%)	8%
[Not polled:		(6): 233, 240, 242, 243, 249b, 249d]		

This item, too, shows similar results to the above for Medina County data collected in 1972 and 2009, with the exception that Boas’ (2009a) data for Comal County also mirrors the high frequency (92-100%) of use for the present perfect form. A third Gilbert (1972) translation task investigated the SG strong verb *sein* (‘to be’), the results of which are summarized in Table 5.31:

²⁷⁴ Speakers 202 and 237 produced the colloquial form which omits the past participle, but produces the finite temporal auxiliary, as in *Miř sin heim (ganga)*.

²⁷⁵ 3rd person sing. was used: *Ař isch haim gànga*.

Table 5.31: Present perfect versus preterite for SG *sein* ('to be')

Gilbert (1972) Map 99: "You were both here yesterday."
 SG *Ihr wart beide gestern hier*, URA *Ihr sin baida gäschtert do gsee*.

Gilbert (1972):	27	Roesch (2009):	27	Boas (2009a)
<i>Perfect:</i>	(35%)		(91%)	6%
SG: <i>i:r sait . . . gəvesən</i> (2): 8, ²⁷⁶ 16 ²⁷⁷				
URA: <i>i:r sin . . . kse(:)/ksi</i> (7): 9, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27		(20): 202, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, ²⁷⁸ 247, 249a, 249c, 250, 251, 252a, ²⁷⁹ 252b, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257		
(w/o p.part.):	(3%)		(9%)	
(1): 22		(2): 236, 248		
<i>Preterite:</i>	(61%)		(0%)	94%
<i>va:rt:</i> (12): 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18 ²⁸⁰		-		
§: 1 st / 3 rd pl.: ²⁸¹ (4): 4, 13, 14, 20				
[not polled: 26		(5): 233, 242, 243, 249b, 249d]		

For this item, both the Gilbert (1972) and Boas (2009a) data show higher percentages for the SG preterite form *wart* ('were'). The Comal County results show a complete switch with the 2009 participants in Medina County. All but two (91%) of this

²⁷⁶ *i:r sint baidə dQ kwe:zə gestə^at* (SG past part used: *gewesen*).

²⁷⁷ *ji: hept baid hi:v vest xystə* (LG: 'they had both here been yesterday').

²⁷⁸ *sie woʁa baidə do: kse: geschtert* (auxiliary in past perfect form).

²⁷⁹ 2nd pers.sing. *dü bisch... kse:* (incorrect pronoun).

²⁸⁰ *i:r va:rən* (incorrect verb form for you.pl.).

²⁸¹ This symbol was not designated for either perfect or preterite, and is thus noted separately.

study's 2009 participants produced some form of the present perfect.²⁸² The results for the 2009 Medina County participants are not surprising, as URA no longer exhibits a preterite tense for the past. My TxAls narratives show only rare usage of preterite forms, which were occasionally produced by participants with a TxG parent. (This occurrence in speakers with exposure to both dialects suggests that these preterite forms were acquired in intense contact situations.) The retention of preterite forms for *sein* and *haben* evidenced in modern German today points to internal factors which might also account for the strong preterite response in both Gilbert's (1972) and Boas' (2009a) data. However, the mixed results for the SG verb *ankommen* ('to arrive') are puzzling and require additional analysis of other verbs.

5.6.2 Temporal auxiliaries

There is variation within the URA area in expressing the future tense as also found in colloquial SG. Philipp & Bothorel-Witz (1989) note a future tense indicated by temporal adverbials using present tense forms, while Troxler-Lasseaux et al. (2003) describe a future tense which uses the auxiliary *wara* SG *werden* ('to become') as in SG. No Gilbert (1972) item targeted the future tense, and TxAls speakers used temporal adverbials to indicate the future, mainly using *wara* in passive constructions. Therefore, the following analyses will focus on the two other temporal auxiliaries *hà* and *see*, which are used with the past participle to form the present perfect tense in TxAls.

The present perfect of URA *see* ('to be') is formed by using a finite form of the temporal auxiliary *see* and the past participle *g'see* (*g'si*) (refer to Table 5.28). The only Gilbert translation item which targeted a past tense representation of the strong verb *sein*

²⁸² This encompasses the two speakers who produced the colloquial form which omits the obvious past participle, but produces the V₁ finite temporal auxiliary, as in *Mir sin heim (gànga)*.

which included the past participle was “You were both here yesterday,” SG *Ihr wart beide hier gestern* (see Table 5.31). Fortunately, the distinguishing form of the past participle *g’see/g’si* unique to Medina County participants was shown in Gilbert transcriptions as compared to the prevailing preterite form [va:rt] in other counties:

(5.9): URA: *Ihr sin gäschtert baida (baidi) do gsee (gsi)*.

- a. MED 9: [i: ʁ zint baidi: du: ksi: gestəʔt]
- b. MED 19: [i: ʁ zint baidə do: ksi: geʃtəʁ]
- c. MED 21: [i: r zint be:də do: kse: geʃteʔt]
- d. MED 22: [i: r zint baidə hi: ʁ gestəʔ]
- e. MED 23: [i: ʁ zint baidə do gəze:]
- f. MED 24: [i: ʁ zint baidə do ksə gestəʁ]
- g. MED 25: [i: ʁ zint baidi: do: gəzint gestəʔt]
- h. MED 27: [i: ɒ sint baidi dɔ ksi: gestəɒt]

There is evidence of both Colmar and Mulhouse forms of the past participle and *baida* (‘both’). It is also interesting that the transcriptions show a SG 2nd pers.pl. suffix *-t* for the URA unitary form *sin*. Unfortunately, the responses for “We went home” in Medina County were not transcribed separately, but in light of the 100% maintenance of the present perfect form *sin . . . heimgànga* in the productions of 2009 TxAls participants, it is probable that these Alsatian forms were used during the collection of Gilbert’s data. TxAls speakers often produce the present perfect in narratives, as in the following examples (see the transcripts in *Appendix F* for additional examples).

(5.10): TxAls present perfect forms of [se:] ('sein'),
e.g., fin.v. of [se:] + [kse:]

- a. #234: *Dü saisch nia nix, wu bisch dü g'se:i?*
'You never say anything, where were you?'
- b. #251: *Min Väter isch a Schrienř g'se:i.*
'My father was a carpenter.'
- c. B. T.:²⁸³ *Awer schlimste und g'farlichste sin ~~der~~ Indianer g'sey.*
'But the worst and most dangerous were the Indians.'

(5.11): TxAls present perfect forms of [ha] ('to have'),
e.g. fin.v. of [ha] + [k^ha:]

- a. #240: *Ei Familia hàt drei junga Büewela kàà.*
'One family had three young boys.'
- b. #202: *Sall Zit hàn miř kà Hoschpital kàà.*
'At that time we didn't have hospitals.'
- c. B.T.: *In da letchte johr han mir oie veil fraid ka.*
'Last year we too had a lot of happy times.'

Although TxAls has mainly retained the temporal auxiliaries *hà* and *see*, there are also examples of the auxiliary *wařa* SG *werden* ('to become') and its past participle *gwořa* SG *geworden* ('became'), such as in #254's remark, *Sini Tant isch krank gwoōřa* ('his aunt became ill'). However, most of the instances of the past participle are passive constructions, where *wařa* is used as a modal auxiliary. These modal auxiliaries are discussed in the following section.

²⁸³ B.T.'s letters constitute the only documents known to me written in Alsatian by a TxAls speaker and illustrate how this particular speaker perceived his spoken language.

5.6.3 Modal auxiliaries

As introduced in the previous section, *waŕa* (SG *werden*) is also used as a modal auxiliary in ALS to form the passive voice. As modal auxiliaries were not investigated by Gilbert (1972), I continue to rely on transcribed data from the open-ended interview sessions to show maintenance of these auxiliary verbs. In ALS as in SG, the past participle of the auxiliary verb for the passive voice is not preceded by the *ge-* prefix, but instead, exhibits a shortened form, *woŕa* (SG *worden*). Example (5.12) shows some examples of the passive constructions in the present perfect used by TxAls speakers:

(5.12):

- a. #240: *D' meischti hàn alli Ànglisch un es isch gàř z'halba verğassa woŕa.*
'Most spoke all English and it was completely or half forgotten.'
- b. #234: *Wu'ř verğřàv wooŕa isch, sin alli di ältscht davoŕna gsatzť mit dr Wåg.*
'When he was buried, all the eldest (sisters) sat up front on the wagon.'

As previously mentioned, no Gilbert item investigated the passive voice, but Eikel (1954) included a translation item in his list which elicited the passive in the sentence, "The pillow slips were changed this morning," (SG *Die Kopfkissenbezüge wurden heute gewechselt*).²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ SG favors the preterite form, *wurden*, but the present perfect is equally acceptable: *Die Kopfkissenbezüge sind heute gewechselt worden*."

(5.13):

- Eikel 3.8: The pillow slips were changed this morning.
SG: *Die Kopfkissenbezüge wurden heute morgen gewechselt.*
- a. #202: *'S Kopfkissi hàn miř schãnschiert hett mořga.*
 'We changed the pillowcases this morning.'
- b. #253: *Miř hàn neei Kopfkissi hit mořga.*
 'We have new pillowcases this morning.'

The informants who were asked to translate passive Eikel items²⁸⁵ in (5.13) seemed to favor the active voice, but produced the perfect tenses with no apparent difficulty during the interview sessions (5.12), which might indicate different cognitive processes involved between translation tasks and natural discourse.

The most frequently-occurring modals *müessa* ('must') and *kenna* ('can') (Werlen 1985: 9), however, are also the modals used most often in TxAls. *Wella* ('want') and *solla* ('ought to') are also frequently heard,²⁸⁶ but the use of *derfa* ('may') and *mega* ('to like') was rarely observed. The modal auxiliary *düe* SG *tun* ('to do') is also used by TxAls speakers to express the conditional.²⁸⁷ The following excerpts in (5.14) illustrate the fluent incorporation of these modal auxiliaries in TxAls narratives (the modals auxiliaries are underlined once and their infinitive complement, twice):

²⁸⁵ This was only done with a few informants as time and health circumstances permitted.

²⁸⁶ This was the third most frequently-occurring modal in Werlen's study (1985: 9).

²⁸⁷ For a thorough discussion of the functions of the verb *tun* ('to do') in German dialects, see Langer (2001).

(5.14):

- a. #202: *Will sie kenne anandr nitt versteh un sie mien Englisch ředa.*
'Because they can't understand each other and they have to speak English.'
- b. #254a: *Ař hat gsaijt, miř solla řuwakumma un woohna mit deena.*
'He said we should come over there and live with them.'
- c. #239: *D. hat gsaijt, „Nei, dü sollsch nitt so řeeda.”*
'D. said, “No, you shouldn't talk like that”.'
- d. #234: *Un ich han gsait, “Ich wull dou kumma geh schaffa.”*
'And I said, “I want to come here to work”.'
- e. #240: *Ař kànn Elsassich güet versteh, àwr ar kànn nitt so güet ředda.*
'He can understand Alsatian well, but he can't speak so well.'

The examples above also generally reflect the acceptable inflection of the URA modal, as well as the placement of the infinitive complement at the end of the phrase.

A participle with g- does not exist for the TxAls modal verbs, nor does one exist in any of the Upper Rhine dialects (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989: 327), whether in Mulhouse or Colmar. Instead, a present perfect double infinitive is used:

(5.15):

- a. #254: *Miř hàn iř müessa halfa.*
'We had to help her.'
- b. #239: *Àwř miř hàn müen alles màcha.*
'But we had to do everything.'
- c. #254a: *Ař hat nitt wulla zahla.*
'He didn't want to pay.'
- d. #202: *In d'Speelzit hasch dü nitt duřfe Elsassisch ředa.*
'During recess you weren't allowed to speak Alsatian.'

The syntax of this construction is addressed in the following section.

5.7 SYNTAX OF DOUBLE INFINITIVES AND PRESENT PERFECT CONSTRUCTIONS

In SG, the double infinitive construction is preferred over the past participle in constructing the past tense of modal verbs. The prescribed order shows the modal infinitive in final position (see Example 5.8). However, in URA, the modal infinitive precedes the dependent infinitive. This same order is consistently reproduced in the speech of TxAls speakers (the finite form of the temporal auxiliary *hàn* is italicized, dependent infinitives are underlined once, and modal infinitives are underlined twice):

(5.16)

- a. #239: Sie *hàt* nia in d'Schüel kenna geh.
SG: Sie *hat* nie in die Schule gehen können.
'She never was able to go to school.'
- b. #239: Un z'Ove *hàn* miř widdř heim müessa kumma.
SG: Und zum Abend *haben* wir wieder heim kommen müssen.
'And in the evening we had to come home again.'
- c. #240: Mř *hàn* müesse ředa mit salli un elsassisch isch widdeř
zurukumma.
SG: Wir *haben* mit ihnen reden müssen und das Elsässisch ist
wieder zurückgekommen.
'We had to talk with them and the Alsatian came back.'
- d. #234: Mir *hàn* müessa d'heim bliewa un d'Ma ha:lva malka fer a
Lawa màcha.
SG: Wir *haben* zu Hause bleiben müssen und die Mutter
melken helfen (müssen), um genug zum Leben zu
machen.
'We had to stay home and help mama milk (the cows) to
make a living.'

- e. #234: Dann *hàn* ich d'Wiebeř müessa fürtjaga, will sie all mitm
(*hàn*) tànza wulle.
SG: Dann *habe* ich die Frauen fortjagen müssen, weil sie alle
mit ihm *haben* tanzen wollen.
'Then I had to chase away the women, because they all
wanted to dance with him.'

As the examples above illustrate, not only is the URA infinitive order maintained in simple sentences as in (5.16) a. - c., but is also maintained in complex sentences in (5.16) d. and e.

A development which suggests external influence from contact with English is the placement of temporal adverbials within the sentence. SG (and URA) prefers placement of time directly after the finite V_1 in SVO phrases and before items referring to Manner and Place, whereas in English, time is allocated to last position. Both SG and English have an optional first position for the adverbial of time.

(5.17)

- SG: Ich war heute lang in der Schule.
URA: Ich bin hett lang in d'Schüel g'sei.
ENG: I was at school a long time today.

Revisiting Gilbert's (1972) data and my 2009 re-sampling in Table 5.28 "He arrived yesterday," the TxAls responses showed an even split between placing the SG adverbial *gestern* URA *geschtert* ('yesterday') after the finite verb (5.18a.) and placing it after the past participle (5.18b.). That is, half of the respondents placed the temporal adverbial according to the URA/SG pattern, but the other half placed it according to the English pattern. In comparison, 96% of Gilbert's (1972) informants placed the temporal adverbial after the finite verb.

(5.18) “He arrived yesterday.”

- a. URA: Ar isch geschtert ankumma.
- b. TxAls: Ar isch kumma geschtert.
- c. SG: Er kam gestern an.

There is unfortunately insufficient data available in Gilbert’s recordings to enable a thorough examination which could adequately substantiate this syntactic shift.

5.8 SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

This chapter has focused on providing basic analyses of the maintenance of URA morphosyntactic structures in TxAls as well as identifying variation and indices of change. In order to establish a comparative framework with which to substantiate maintenance, I provided a description of the gender, case, and number properties of the noun and verb in SG and URA. I further established a comparative parallel by which to identify morphosyntactic developments by summarizing and displaying Gilbert’s 1972 responses for his twenty-seven participants in Medina County next to my twenty-seven informants for the various features under examination, e.g. gender (Tables 5.6 and 5.7), case (Tables 5.9 - 5.12), and number (Tables 4.5 and 5.13).

These analyses revealed a further simplification in progress of already-reduced URA nominative/accusative definite articles marking noun gender *d’r*, *d’*, and *’s* to *d’*. This could be attributed to the tendency of dying languages to simplify their structure, but could also be attributed to internal tendencies as already evidenced by the already-simplified Alsatian dialect. In contrast, there was a high degree of maintenance of dative case markings indicating retention of the NA/D opposition characteristic of URA. Boas (2009a: 209) also notes a tendency in New Braunfels TxG to maintain the characteristic N/AD opposition characteristic of TxG donor dialects, i.e. a continued decrease in dative

case markings which indicate a movement toward a nominative/non-nominative distinction already identified by Eikel (1949: 279) and Gilbert (1965: 109). This would suggest that natural internal tendencies also play a role in the retention of URA dative case markings in TxAls.

The high percentage of speakers who maintained the NA/D opposition after the SG two-way preposition *auf* URA *uf* ('on') (Tables 5.11 and 5.12) would seem to support the hypothesis that internal factors trigger this development. 84% of my 2009 informants produced a correct dative marking in the situation marked for the dative following *auf*, and 64% produced an accusative marking for that marked for the accusative.

A resampling of the personal pronouns which still maintains a three-way distinction (N/A/D) showed a significant retention of all three case forms, particularly in the first and third person singular. The 2009 informants produced selected first person singular and plural to an extraordinary degree: 100% for URA nominative plural *mir* SG *wir* ('we'), 91% for the URA/SG accusative singular *mich* ('me'), and 80% for the URA/SG dative pronoun *mir* ('me') in Tables 5.18 and Tables 5.21. The URA/SG feminine accusative pronoun *sie* ('her') was produced by 78% of the informants in "The little children see her," but there was a greatly reduced response (and an increase in variants) of the URA/SG dative pronoun *ihr* after the preposition *mit* ('with') (Tables 5.19 and 5.20). Only 31% responded with the correct dative pronoun in "We went with her" (but an additional 12% with other dative variants). 27% responded with the URA/SG accusative pronoun *sie* and 22% with another accusative form, and two responded with the English form "her". This counters Fuller & Gilbert's (2003) suggestion that the almost homophonous English pronoun "her" reinforces the maintenance of the dative pronoun *ihr*.

There was overwhelming substantiation of the maintenance of URA verb finite and non-finite forms in the present and past tenses, including complex modal constructions involving a double infinitive. The resamplings of the Gilbert (1972) tasks which investigated the preterite vis-à-vis the present perfect as a past tense revealed a 100% correct response of the present perfect forms for URA *kumma* and *geh*, and 91% for *see* (the remaining 9% omitted the past participle—an acceptable colloquial practice).

I have shown that morphosyntactic structures of the Upper Rhine Alsatian (URA) donor dialect have been transmitted largely intact, such as dative case markings, verb tenses and forms, and distinctive demonstratives. For New Braunfels Texas German, Boas (2009a: 238) too observed “the relative absence of significant morphosyntactic changes indicative of language decay and language death” and that “overall, Texas German is rapidly becoming extinct while its morphosyntactic structures of German origin remain largely intact.” In the words of Dorian (1978: 608), Texas Alsatian also appears to be dying with its “morphological boots on”. However, this analysis has only investigated certain morphosyntactic features, some of which still require a great deal of examination and analysis, as in the high retention of feminine and plural determiner and pronoun forms, or how the properties of certain verbs might affect maintenance or loss of case.

The last three chapters have examined structural features of TxAls. The next chapter focuses on attitudes, dispositions, and beliefs of TxAls speakers that have aided in maintaining the ancestral language to the present, as well as those which are triggering its rapid decline.

CHAPTER SIX: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Back when we would go somewhere, they would say, no, we're not going to talk it, because, I don't know, they were kind of ashamed. I don't know why. And some of the people didn't want to speak it at all. Well today, they'd give their right arm if they could. But it's lost.

--#251, January 2007

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates current speaker attitudes contributing to the maintenance and decline of TxAls, and the implied underlying relationship between linguistic assessment and social identity, given that language responds to shifts in societal constellations. Whereas macro-level factors of immigration, (non-) urbanization, and language politicization have been described and discussed in Chapters One and Two, this chapter focuses on individual speaker attitudes and seeks to illustrate how preservation of the ancestral language (AL) in the face of linguistic shift is also a socio-cultural “act of identity” (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).²⁸⁸

The examination of speaker attitudes is crucial to understanding why TxAls speakers have preserved their language to the extent shown in the previous chapters, especially when they have chosen to retain marked phonological and morphosyntactic features of their ancestral language in situations of dialect contact with the standard-near TxG dialects in their own community, and even within their own home. This phenomenon was not only evident in Gilbert's (1972) data, but surfaced during several

²⁸⁸ For further discussions of language and identity, see Edwards (1985), Vassberg (1989), Baker (1992), Blot (1995), Fishman (1999), etc.

interviews of TxG/TxAls couples, where TxAls was preserved and even acquired by the TxG-speaking spouse.²⁸⁹

A few studies already exist which incorporate data on the attitudes, ideologies, and language use of Alsatian speakers in Europe (Hessini 1981, Vassberg 1989, Bister-Broosen 1996, Krantzer 2004).²⁹⁰ Vassberg's (1989) study on language attitudes toward the Alsatian dialect in Southern Alsace provides an interesting parallel to this study due to its regional emphasis (Mulhouse, Upper Rhine) and reveals similar patterns of language use in the main area of origin of the Castroville colonists. Vassberg (1989: 359) focuses on attitudes towards the dialect, evaluations on who speaks the dialect, the teaching and transmission of the dialect, as well as different attitudinal dimensions suggested by Hofman (1977), such as the communicative, instrumental, or sentimental value of the language.

The most recent research on attitudinal factors involved in the decline of New Braunfels TxG (Boas 2009a) is the most relevant to this study, as Boas examines language attitudes as a contributing factor in the death of TxG, pointing particularly to initial loss of prestige and ensuing stigmatization in WWI, as well as other factors of education, and loss of group vitality (Boas 2009a: 214, 305). References will be made to this study where pertinent.

²⁸⁹ Another interesting example illustrating the strength of the Alsatian identity is the case of E.B., who identified herself as Alsatian, but when interviewed, spoke the standard-near TxG. However, she insisted she was speaking Alsatian. (Her father was Alsatian and her mother a TxG.)

²⁹⁰ Hessini's (1981) study focuses on the Alsatian dialect spoken in Strasbourg and is based on the hypothesis that "culturally defined space and time are the principal determining factors for explaining alternate linguistic behavior" (<http://proquest.umi.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu>). It is not immediately relevant to my study due to the choice of location, but offers interesting insights and parallels. For a discussion of language attitudes and ideologies in Germany, see Dailey-O'Cain (2000) and Elspass (2005).

6.2 ATTITUDES, FEELINGS, BELIEFS

Attitudes, feelings, and beliefs toward language have been recognized as powerful factors in language maintenance, shift, and death for several decades (Fishman 1972a, Fasold 1987, Mattheier 1996, Myers-Scotton 2006, etc.), especially in light of the rapidly increasing disappearance of many smaller languages, i.e. those with relatively-small speaker populations (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 7).²⁹¹ Fishman (1971: 1) emphasizes the inseparability of language from speaker assessments and behavior:

Language is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself is content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics and well as of the societal goals and the large-scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community.

Grenoble & Whaley (1998: 24) state that “subjective attitudes of a speech community towards its own and other languages are paramount for predicting language shift.” Following Edwards’ (1992) predictive model for language shift which allows a description of an endangered speech community from thirty-three perspectives, they commend its capacity to represent the complexity of speech communities on both a macro (external) and micro-level (internal). However, Mattheier (1996: 816) lays the survival of a speech island squarely on subjective factors of attitude:

²⁹¹ Linguists estimate that of the 5,700-6,000 languages still in existence today, approximately one half will become extinct in this century (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 7).

In den Forschungsdiskussionen der letzten Zeit stellt sich jedoch heraus, dass die den Sprachassimilationsprozess steuernden Faktoren weniger in objektiven als in subjektiven Wirkkräften gesucht werden müssen. Nicht die Grösse der Sprachgemeinschaft oder ihre Siedlungsdichte ist letztlich entscheidend für den Erhalt oder die Aufgabe der Heimatsprache, sondern bestimmte soziopsychische Dispositionen, die gesellschaftlich als Attituden und Mentalitäten wirksam werden und das Verhalten, also auch die Varietätenwahl, steuern. Mark Loudon spricht hier etwa von einem Distinktionsbedürfnis, das die Old Order Amish daran hindert, sich den Einflüssen der Umgebungsgesellschaft und ihrer Sprache weiter zu öffnen als unbedingt notwendig.²⁹²

Winford (2003: 258) extends the discussion of macro and micro-level variables by emphasizing an element of “choice” on the language community’s part in participating in language shift and death, citing the example of the Kenyan Yaaku tribe who held a public meeting in the 1930s and decided to abandon their ancestral language from that point onward in favor of Masai (cf. Brenzinger 1992: 213). While this might seem unusual, it is not unlike the situation of the Texas German-speaking population described in the Introduction. Participant #251 alludes to the stigmatization of their ancestral language in the above quotation and one can well imagine similar conversations and decisions taking place in the homes of Texas German communities during WWI and WWII. Informant #202 refers to these decisions in the following excerpt (see §1.5 for full quote):

²⁹² ‘Recent research has determined that factors which influence language assimilation should be sought in subjective causes rather than objective ones. Neither the size of the speech community nor its settlement density is decisive for the retention or loss of the ancestral language, but rather specific socio-psychological dispositions which manifest themselves socially as attitudes and ideologies and influence behavior, i.e. language choice. Mark Loudon discusses the need for distinction which keeps the Old Order Amish from subjecting itself further to the influences of the surrounding society and its language more than is necessary,’ (my translation).

*Drnou sin sie wiedr heimkumma, dia was gänge sin fir
iekäufa und hàn g'sait zuanàndr, mir reda nimmr Elsess
mit d' Kindr, das profitiert sie nitt.*

‘After that they went home, those that had gone (to San Antonio) shopping and said to each other, we’re not going to speak Alsatian with the children anymore, it won’t be of any value to them.’

Participant #251 also exemplifies how powerful individual attitudes can be in acquiring a language during the interwar period when Alsatian had lost prestige and retreated to private domains of home and family. #251 was born in 1933 in the Hondo Hospital, just 13 miles west of Castroville, but lives in Castroville. He is a fluent speaker of Texas Alsatian and attributes his command of the language to his mother. He spoke Alsatian with his mother daily until her death several years ago at age 94. He remembers vividly the moment he made the conscious decision to learn Alsatian at the age of eight:

(6.1) 18-203-1-2-a.wav:

. . . how I came about getting interested in the Alsatian language. We spoke it at home, but I was, well, it all started when I was eight years old. It was December 7, 1941 . . . the year of Pearl Harbor . . . And about noon he (father) came home and he said, he told mother: *Jetzt sin mir im Kri:eg*.²⁹³ And I’m thinking to myself: *Kri:eg* (‘war’), you know, that to me that was a couple of jugs, because *Krüeg* is a jug, *Kri:eg* is more than one (jug), but this didn’t all add up.²⁹⁴ So then we start talking a little bit and then he explained to me that we had gone into war and all this and that and from that day on, I decided I’ve got to learn this language and that’s how it all came about then.

It is apparent that #251’s realization that his parents’ conversations contained information on crucial current topics motivated his desire to understand them and to learn Alsatian.

²⁹³ “Now we’re at war.”

²⁹⁴ The speaker is referring to his confusion between two homophonous words, one of which means “war” (which was not in his vocabulary), and the other of which constitutes the Alsatian plural for the known entity “jug” or “pitcher.”

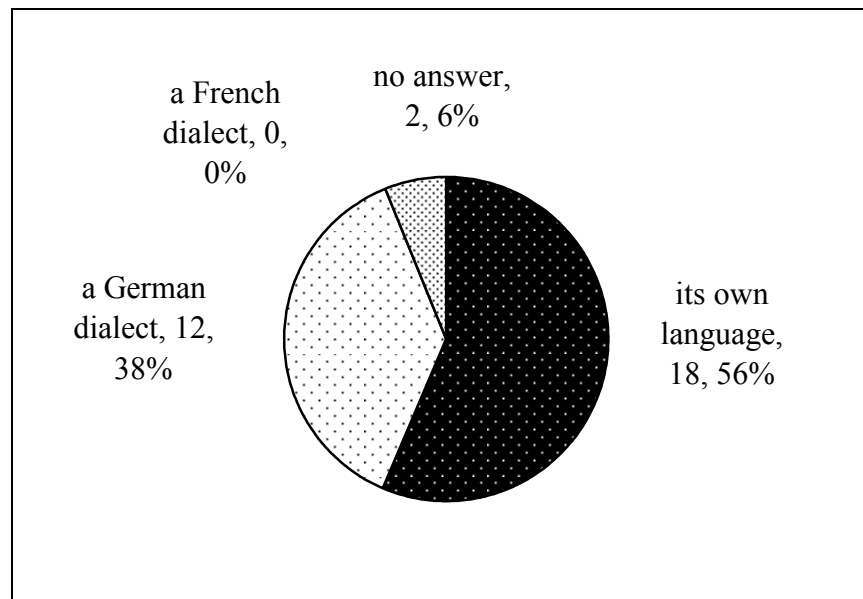
Myers-Scotton (2006: 108) groups attitudes and ideologies under the overarching term “ethos,” which subsumes “the realm of how personal and group beliefs, mindsets, and psychological or cognitive orientations affect the decisions that speakers and even nation states make about becoming or remaining bilingual.” She defines attitudes as mainly unconscious “assessments that speakers make about the relative values of a particular language” and ideologies as “perceptions of languages and their uses that are constructed in the interest of a specific group” (Myers-Scotton 2006: 109). These two concepts overlap in that they both consist of evaluations, but differ in what speakers conclude from these evaluations (Myers-Scotton 2006: 110).

A prime example of how ideologies are constructed in the interest of a specific group is the English-only ideology propagated to immigrants by an Anglo-centric government in the 20th century (and still strong today) that learning English was necessary for American cultural “membership” and proof of allegiance (see Roosevelt’s statement, Chapter Two). An example of this on the local level in Texas is the continued belief expressed by interviewees in TxG communities that TxG dialects are somehow inferior to Standard German (Boas 2009a: 267, 278). This was also the case for some TxAls speakers, who considered their dialect inferior to TxG, the status of which was supported by “High German” newspapers and texts.

Speaker #251’s remarks on the loss of TxAls above, however, reveal a shift from the ideology that TxAls was “not useful” and, by association with German, tainted by its “enemy” status during the World Wars, to a present assessment that Alsatian is not only useful, but perhaps a language in its own right. This has come about solely due to its renewed contact with the Alsace in Europe since 1975 (see Chapter One, §5). In light of these negative attitudes towards the ancestral dialect on the one hand, and its newly-found communicative value with the European Alsations on the other, I was interested in

gauging which of these attitudes was represented more strongly among the TxAls-speaking community. Question #6 on the Alsatian Questionnaire (*Appendix B*) investigated speaker perception of the status of their ancestral language. Respondents were asked to define Alsatian as (a) its own language, (b) a German dialect, or (c) a French dialect. The results are tabulated in Figure 6.1.:

Figure 6.1: “Alsatian is...”



Eighteen informants (56%) regard Texas Alsatian as “its own language” and twelve (38%) identify it as a German dialect. No respondent marked “a French dialect”. This heightened awareness of the status of their heritage language is very different from the comments expressed by Texas Germans in communities of Gillespie County, such as Fredericksburg, Doss, and Stonewall. This can be largely attributed to the now thirty-year partnership of Castroville with the Alsatian villages of Ensisheim and Eguisheim and the close bonds which exist between the communities. Groups visit every other year, with individuals and families visiting yearly. Three French Alsatian couples interviewed

while visiting Castroville exhibited great pride in the Alsatian language²⁹⁵ and are conscious of the distinction between language and dialect. This is also the subject of many discussions when the Alsatians visit Castroville. (There are currently preservation efforts in the Alsace supported financially by the European Union to re-establish Alsatian in the educational system and media.)

The ensuing sections analyze questionnaire responses to gauge the importance of attitudinal and dispositional factors in both the preservation and decline of TxAls.

6.3 THE CASTROVILLE ALSATIANS

How do Castroville Alsatian speakers see themselves within a broader context, i.e. as a member of different components of modern society and how prevalent is their feeling of belonging to the Alsatian community? Fasold (1987: 149-58) discusses several methods for collecting data on speaker attitudes: matched-guise tasks, questionnaires, interviews, and observation. In order to identify particular attitudes and ideologies contributing to the maintenance, shift, and decline of TxAls, and identify the underlying relationship between linguistic behavior and social identity, a specific survey was developed: the Alsatian Questionnaire (AQ) (see *Appendix B* and Chapter One for details).²⁹⁶ The questionnaire solicits information on individual attitudes and opinions in order to gauge the group vitality of the Castroville community, such as perceptions of (1) what constitutes the Alsatian identity and how central it is to the individual, (2) who belongs to this ethno-cultural community, and (3) the social, cultural, economic value of the ancestral language, i.e., its *linguistic vitality*.

²⁹⁵ See Bister-Broosen (1997a, 1997b) for a discussion of language attitudes in the Alsace.

²⁹⁶ Four of the forty respondents completed only the TGD survey. Where questions from the two surveys overlap, these are also included. In addition, four non-speakers filled out the questionnaire. These respondents are not included in the charts representing questions which investigate language use.

In a study of ethnic identity in Canada, Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, & Reitz (2000) define levels which are insightful and will be used for a discussion of TxAls identity. Breton et al. (2000: 35-7) define ethnic identity as “the manner in which persons, on account of their ethnic origin, locate themselves psychologically in relation to one or more social systems, and in which they perceive others as locating them in relation to those systems.” The authors further distinguish between internal and external aspects of ethnic behavior. External aspects are observable behavior, such as speaking in an ethnic language, practicing ethnic traditions, participation in personal ethnic networks, institutional and voluntary organizations, and functions sponsored by ethnic organizations, whereas internal aspects are subjective and include attitudes, ideas, images, and feelings. Internal aspects are divided into three dimensions of ethnic identity: cognitive, moral, and affective dimensions. The cognitive includes self-images and images of one’s group, its values, heritage and historical past, and events or personalities symbolic of the group’s experiences. The moral dimension refers to feelings of group obligation and solidarity, as in transmission of the language to one’s children or marrying within the group. The affective dimension encompasses feelings of attachment to the group, as in feelings of security and comfort with the group’s cultural patterns or associative preference for group members versus those of other groups. The following section explores external and internal ethnic behavior of the Alsatian-speaking community in Castroville to frame a discussion of attitudes, perceptions, and opinions on topics central to language and cultural identity.

External aspects mirror internal aspects and cannot be completely separated from each other. For example, language is usually the most visible external symbol of a group, but its transmission and maintenance stem from internal “behavior” or attitudes, beliefs, and feelings. I have shown that despite stigmatization and loss of prestige, Alsatian was

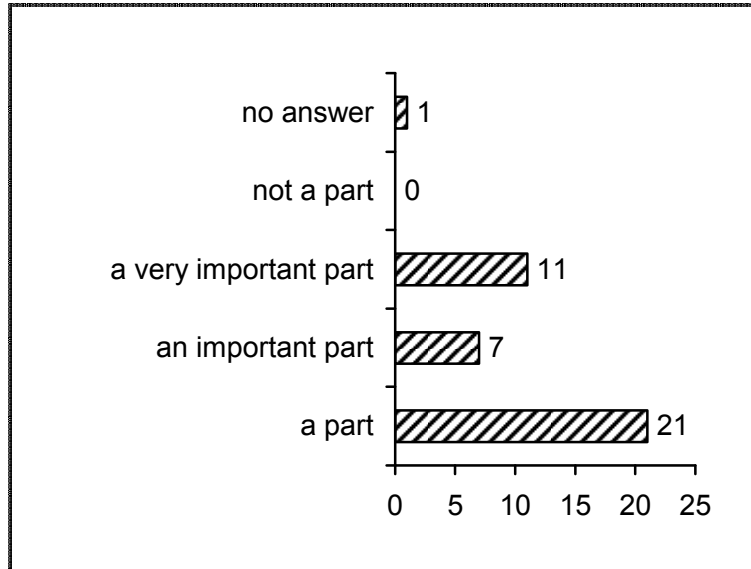
still transmitted to the next generation until circa 1940 and continues to be spoken and maintained within the in-group seventy years later, which demonstrates group solidarity and obligation. Participation in external private and institutional groups reflects both cognitive and affective group behavior. In the Castroville Alsatian community, there is a dense social network of local private and public organizations in which most informants participate. Some are strongly male-oriented, such as the Catholic St. Louis Men's Society or men's coffee groups (*Kaffeeklatsch*) in Castroville and LaCoste which are attended weekly and even daily at local restaurants. Many of the participants (both genders) are members and officers in the Castro Colonies Heritage Association, which protects and promotes historical preservation of the Alsatian culture. A majority of the informants attended the Alsatian language class formed soon after the initiation of the Equisheim-Castroville city partnership, which has itself become a central social network and mainstay of the Alsatian culture in Medina County.

Several questions on the AQ investigate these internal dimensions. Question #30 probed forty²⁹⁷ informants' self-images of their ethnic identity. This required participants to select one option of the statement "Alsatian is a part/important part/very important part/not a part of my identity."²⁹⁸ The term "Alsatian," which the speakers use to distinguish themselves from Texas Germans, was deliberately kept ambiguous in an attempt to encompass all aspects of cultural identity. The results are shown in Figure 6.2.:

²⁹⁷ The four non-speakers are included in this tabulation.

²⁹⁸ The TGDQ questionnaire presented a similar question, but without "very important part." Of the four participants completing this questionnaire, three selected "a part," and one selected "important part," which is included in this analysis.

Figure 6.2: “Alsatian is . . . of my identity”

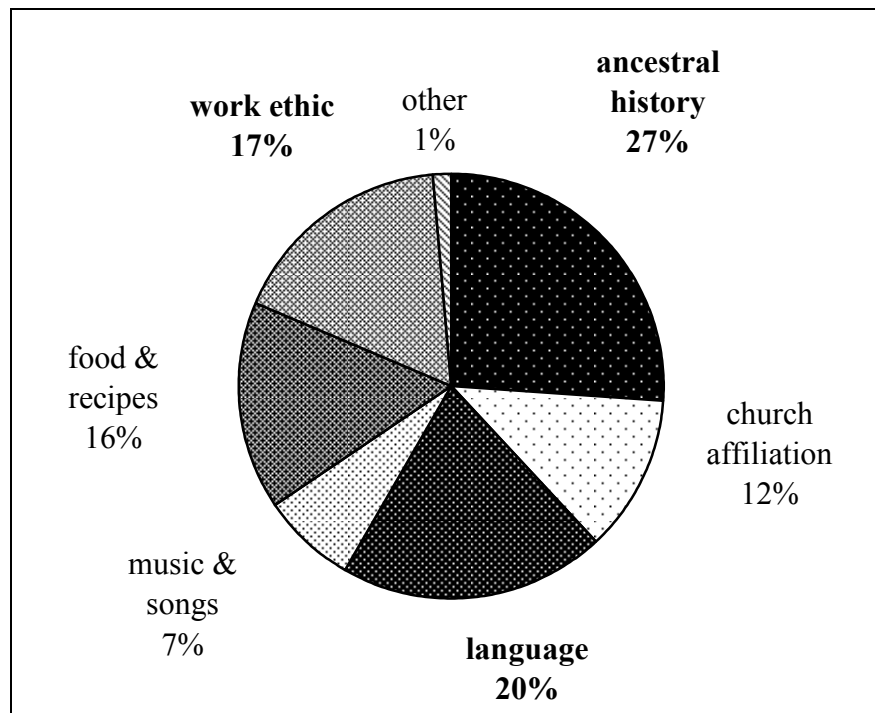


All respondents replied positively, with eighteen (46%) of the participants exhibiting a strong Alsatian self-image by selecting “very important part” or “important part.” Twenty-one (54%) selected a more neutral position with “a part” (all four non-speakers selected this option). Although “Alsatian-ness” is an aspect of all of these respondents’ identity, the more neutral answer of “part” indicates that approximately one half of the informants also include other groups (such as American, Texan, German, etc.) in their self-image. This data projects a strong self-image which connects to the group ethnic identity and accounts for the cohesiveness within this community of Alsatian speakers.

The question arises, especially in light of the non-speaker responses above, whether language is considered the most important identity marker given the shrinking community of speakers. If language is not the most important marker, then how do semi-

speakers express their ethnic identity externally? Question #23 inquired, “What defines your Alsatian heritage?” The participants were asked to rank a list of six items from one to five²⁹⁹ in importance. “Other” was given as an option which could be specified by the respondent. Figure 6.3 summarizes the participants’ responses.

Figure 6.3: “What defines your Alsatian heritage?”



“Ancestry” (27%) was identified by the thirty-two respondents as the foremost defining element of their Alsatian identity, a choice that was also selected as the main difference separating the Alsatian and TxG communities (see Figure 6.6). “Language”

²⁹⁹ The rankings of 1-5 were allotted point values, with Rank 1 receiving 5 points, Rank 2 receiving 4 points, etc.

(20%) was ranked second, and “work ethic” (17%) occupied a strong third. “Food and recipes” constituted a close fourth at 16% and “religious affiliation” received 12% as the fifth-ranked item and “music & songs” last in this list of six options, not surprising as there are no canonical Alsatian songs (the songs are either French or German).

The four non-speakers were evaluated separately in order to determine how they evaluated the importance of language. Only two respondents ranked all six items, but all four placed ancestry first. The points showed a three-way tie for the second rank with “ethics,” “church,” and “food.” “Music” ranked third, and language fell to last place with only one point. These results match the above responses, with “church” replacing “language.”

Narratives provided interesting insights into the importance of top-ranked “ancestry.” At the beginning of the interview, when asked about their ancestry, participants were extremely versant in their genealogical tree. The majority of participants have genealogy studies in print and many have framed family trees hanging on their living room walls. In conversations, ancestral information was readily and extensively proffered,³⁰⁰ i.e. “My mother was a *T*, and she married *W*.”³⁰¹ Ancestral names constitute a high-status ranking in the community, a certain symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991) within the group. Ancestry has most likely taken the leading role for another reason: Texas Alsations who possess only a passive understanding of the language or speak only a few words can still validate their Alsatian identity with ancestry. Ancestral roots, of course, are concrete proof of their Alsatian heritage: recordable, printable, and displayable.

³⁰⁰ This was always expressed with enthusiasm and pride (perhaps to also establish a degree of status with me as a native speaker).

³⁰¹ This speaker is called by his mother’s maiden name and his first given name.

The following section investigates what one participant termed the “clannish” aspect of the Alsatian community in Castroville with respect to “outsiders” and more specifically the relationship between the Alsatian and TxG communities.

6.4 LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD “THE OTHER”

Examining attitudes of the in-group and out-group toward the less-dominant language of a shift has captured the attention of sociolinguists (e.g., Labov 1963, Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997) as prime environments for studying the effects of speaker attitudes and ideologies in situations of language contact and decline. Castroville presents interesting parallels to Labov’s (1963) studies on Martha’s Vineyard and Wolfram & Schilling-Estes’ (1997) observations on Ocracoke Island. Myers-Scotton (2006: 134) frames her discussion of speaker attitudes in these studies in terms of language divergence and accommodation.

6.4.1 The “other”

As in the above studies, many of the older Castroville natives still do not welcome new residents with open arms into their community. They use three terms to differentiate between themselves and “others:” the oldest term (now rarely used), *Amerikaner* (‘Americans’), was employed to refer to Anglo visitors. Another term, *Hargelaufene* (‘those who come here [from “outside”]’) seems to be more general in nature and refers to newcomers (non-natives). Another somewhat derogatory term, *Iegeschwommene* (‘those who swam in’), is used to denote Hispanic “others.” Many Castroville natives still consider new residents a silent threat to their status and authority, although this perception has recently softened. One participant noted with regret the extensive, but

unappreciated preservation efforts of newcomer and author Ruth Lawler.³⁰² Some view the change in hand of business entrepreneurship as opportunistic: a capitalization on Castroville's Alsatian identity without any authority of heritage only for the sake of profit.

I also experienced some initial difficulties as an "outsider," which made first contact with TxAls speakers problematic. I was often asked why I was interested in the Alsatian language, and was able to offer not only academic interest as a reason, but also a personal interest in the dialect connected to personal experiences in the Palatinate and Baden, Germany. This personal connection seemed necessary to convince the community of my sincere intentions behind documenting the dialect³⁰³ and overcome certain suspicions of opportunism.

Questions #33 and #34 (see below) allowed open-ended comments on positive and negative influences of new residents on the Castroville community. The array of comments from Questions #33-34 on the Alsatian Questionnaire reveals the scope of these opinions and sentiments, ranging from resentment and suspicion to a lukewarm acknowledgment of the contributions of new residents to the community:

³⁰² Ruth Lawler moved to Castroville, became interested in its history, and subsequently became engaged in efforts to preserve its Alsatian heritage, but was never fully welcomed into the Alsatian community.

³⁰³ I also began to learn to speak the dialect, even though I could generally understand it, and received much support and encouragement.

(6.2) Responses to AQ Question 33:

“What positive influences have new residents had?”

- a. “have bought many old homes and with the financial means have restored them”
- b. “positive influence only if there is a money profit for them”
- c. “stronger Catholic values; helps reduce former prejudices; broader concept of different views outside Castroville”
- d. “an interest in preserving the old homes of tradition”
- e. “new ideas, leadership”
- f. “positive growth for business, new people and ideas into a somewhat stagnant anti-growth area”

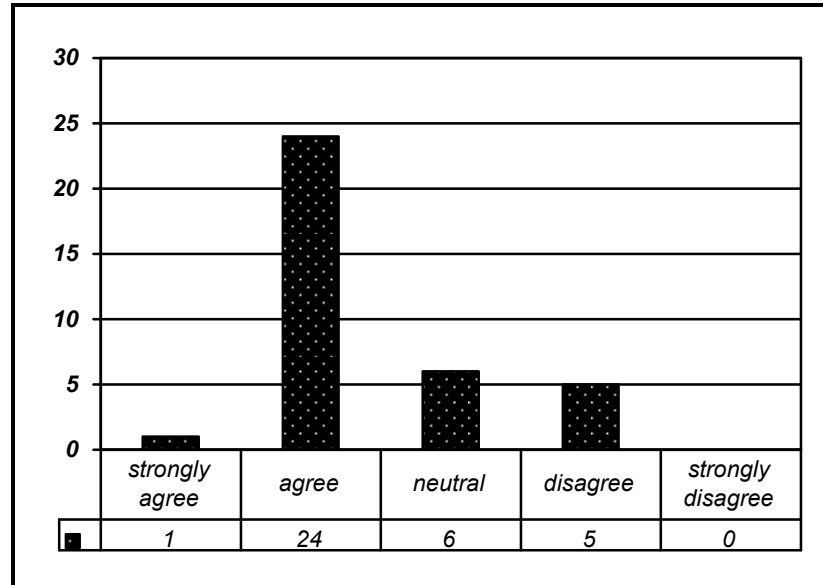
(6.3) Responses to AQ Question 34:

“Are there any negative influences you associate with...new residents?”

- a. “trying to change the culture to fit their needs”
- b. “dilutes Alsatian image”
- c. “contributed to demise of Alsatian language; the cohesion of the Alsatian community has suffered; old Alsatian values of thrift in all matters have been eroded”
- d. “loss of our Alsatian identity; rapid growth is threatening our small-town atmosphere (especially our schools)”
- e. “we are losing our culture”
- f. “new residents get elected to the city council and sometimes their new ideas do not go over too well with the established residents”
- g. “no comment”

Figure 6.4 shows the responses to Question #32 on the questionnaire, “New residents are welcomed in our community,” which required the participants to express their degree of agreement with the statement.

Figure 6.4: “New residents are welcomed in our community”



Twenty-five of the thirty-six³⁰⁴ respondents agreed (one strongly) that Castroville welcomes newcomers, while six remained neutral in their response, and five disagreed. These responses do not reflect the same level of negativism toward newcomers that the open-ended questions in (6.2) and (6.3) illustrate. The reason lies perhaps in the question design, with its intended goal too obvious, whereas the two ensuing questions allow for more candid responses, i.e., “Yes, we welcome newcomers, *but* these are some of the undesirable/desirable repercussions.” Comments given in the section under these questions point to a change in perception towards “outsiders:”

³⁰⁴ The TGDP survey did not include this question.

- (6.4) Comments:
- a. "It wasn't always like this."
 - b. "used to, when my grandparents were small they would call outside people "Amerikaners" and sort of disliked intruders into their tight knit community. Not so much so now."
 - c. "My opinion is that small towns tend to be clannish toward "outsiders" who are not born into the community."

As also indicated by the responses in (6.2), many "wealthier newcomers" have discovered Castroville and purchased property there due to advantageous land prices, lower cost of living, and its proximity to San Antonio, which offers business and entertainment opportunities. Over recent years, these new residents have increasingly participated in government and business, taking official positions in government, participating in community enhancement and preservation efforts, and purchasing small businesses. Some of these new residents, according to several narratives, however, are viewed as lacking the same moral ethics. The following comment was made by participant #202 during a discussion of recent scandals concerning misappropriation of city funds and suggests a certain absence of integrity on the part of new residents:

(6.5) 18-202-1-19-a.wav:

Ich sag nitt, dass alli Hargelaufene nitt güet sind, awr die meischte, was an der Marie isch, sin Hargelaufene ... die sin nitt ... un das isch UNSERE Schuld. Mir soll da uns Leu wehle, aber mir wolla das nitt auf die Schult'r (nehmen).

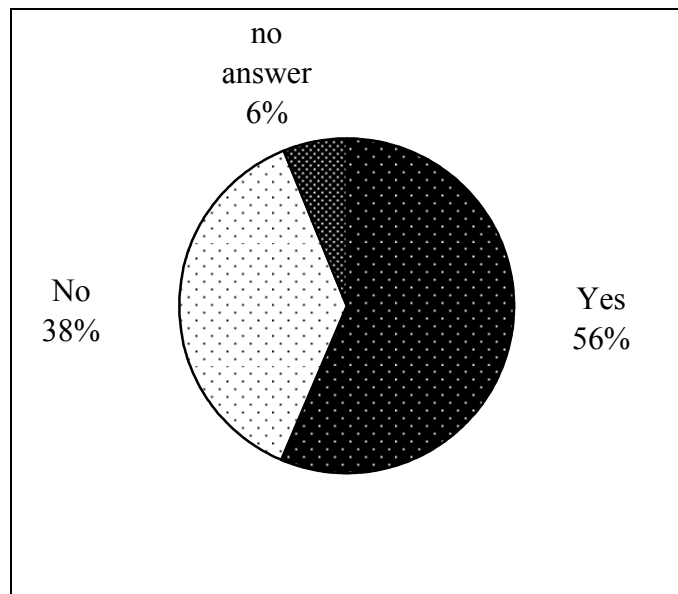
'I wouldn't say that all of the newcomers aren't good, but most of the ones at city hall are newcomers...they aren't...and that is OUR fault. We should vote for our people, but we won't take the responsibility.'

Native inhabitants respond to this “invasion” of newcomers by placing value on what they have: their authenticity as natives. One of the ways Castroville locals express this “nativeness” is via their Texas Alsatian language (see Figure 6.3 for other important identity markers expressed by participants). Myers-Scotton (2006: 134) labels this a type of language divergence (versus accommodation) in the form of a symbolic protest; that is, it distinguishes the locals from the newcomers.

6.4.2 The Texas German community: not “the other”?

Considering the co-existence of TxG speakers in the community and intermarriage between Alsatian and TxG speakers, how do Alsatian speakers see themselves vis-à-vis the TxG community? Question #15 probed the strength of belonging to the Alsatian socio-cultural group versus the TxG group and is represented in Figure 6.5.

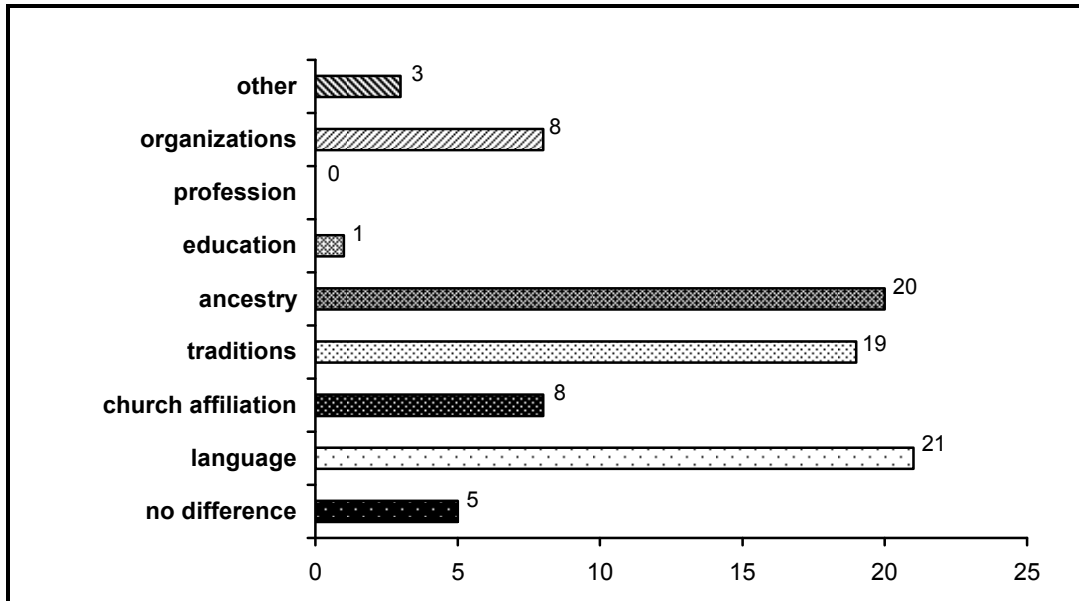
Figure 6.5: “Do you consider yourself part of the larger TxG community?”



Eighteen (50%) of the thirty-six respondents identified themselves as a part of the larger TxG community (the four youngest respondents born after 1940 all responded positively). Several factors can account for this positive response, two of which are intermarriage and a common linguistic heritage. As in many isolated rural communities, at some point “exogamy” becomes a necessity, i.e. marriage outside of the normal boundaries set by a particular society, such as religion and language. The remark, “in Castroville, you don’t have to go back very far to find out we’re all related,” was often made with a smile. Twelve (33%) respondents, however, indicated a definite “separateness” from the TxG community.

What constitutes this separateness of the Alsatian community? The pursuant question #16 asked respondents to identify what they perceived as differences between the Alsatian and TxG communities. Participants could select multiple answers among the choices of language, church affiliation, traditions, ancestry, education, professions, organizations, other practices, or “no difference.” Figure 6.6 shows the total number of responses for each category:

Figure 6.6: “How is the Texas German community different?”



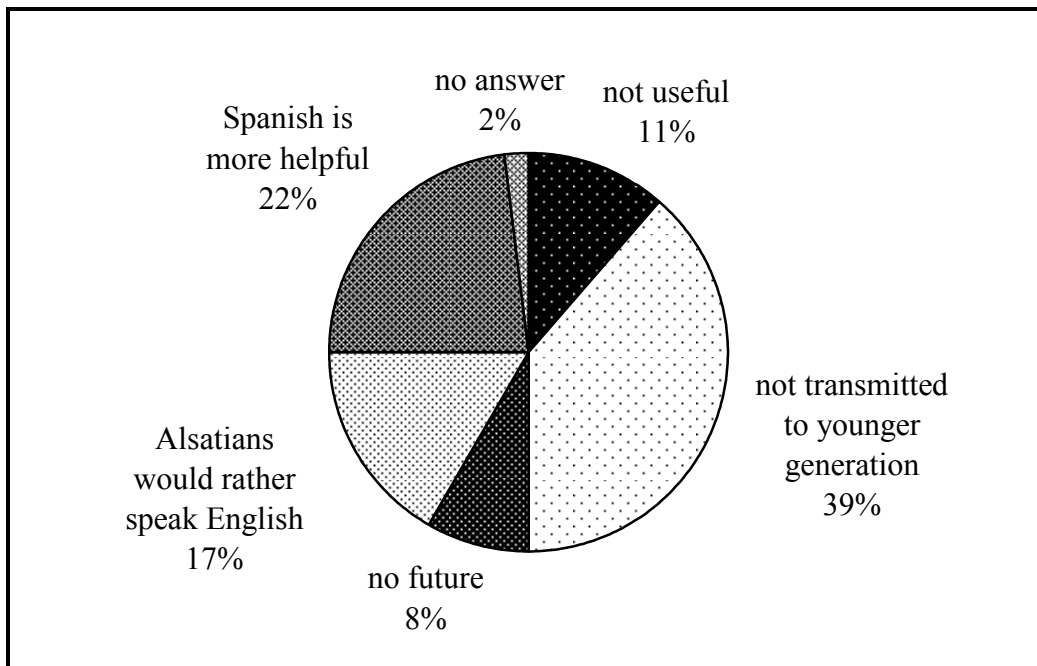
These responses illustrate strong ethnocentric associations with language and affirm the language loyalty noted in previous chapters, which helps to account for the maintenance of distinctive ALS linguistic features despite close contact with other TxG dialects and English. Ancestry is a strong determiner of group membership in this community. These responses are an even stronger statement of socio-cultural affiliation with Alsatian ethnicity, considering that many of the respondents have a German ancestor. Low responses to differences in church affiliation can most likely be accounted for by the fact that a considerable portion of Texas Germans are also Catholic (see §1.4.2).

Having shown strong and positive attitudes, dispositions, and beliefs of speakers toward their Alsatian ethnicity, other attitudes and beliefs which might be aiding the rapid decline of TxAls will be examined in the following section.

6.5 THE DECLINE OF TXALS

In investigating attitudes related to the decline of Texas Alsatian, overlapping questions in the Alsatian and TGDP questionnaires allow an expanded data base. The following tables include data from both surveys which represent forty respondents. Figures 6.7 - 6.10 depict subjective evaluations of reasons for the decline of TxAls, its current practical value, and its chances for survival. AQ #29 inquired into the participants' opinions as to why Alsatian is being spoken less now and were given five statements from which they could choose multiple answers. Figure 6.7 summarizes the participants' opinions:

Figure 6.7: "Why do you think Alsatian is spoken less these days?"



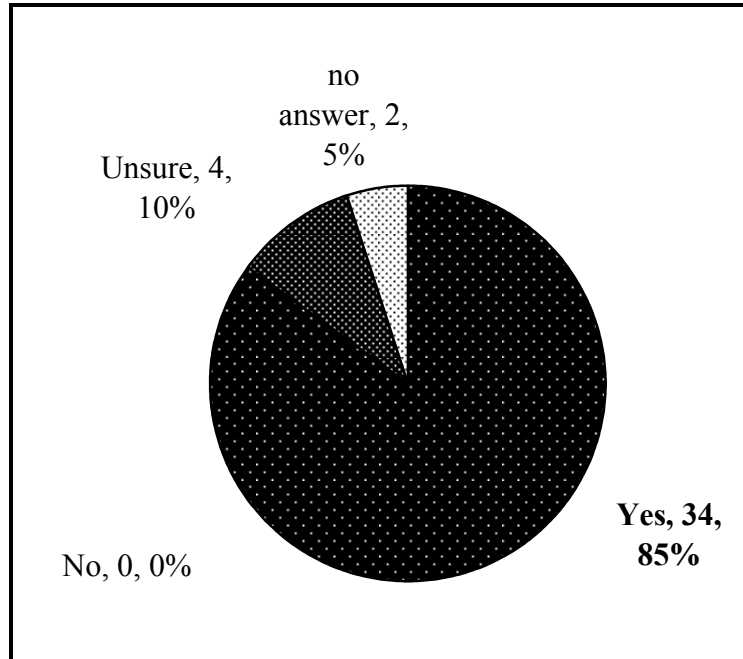
The leading answer from both questionnaires by a wide margin was "not transmitted to the next generation" (39%) (stigmatization, low prestige), followed by a

second grouping of “Spanish is more helpful as a second language” (22%) (practical value vis-à-vis Spanish) and “Alsatian speakers would rather speak English” (17%) (fluency in the AL). The low response to the two last groupings investigating the AL’s practical value, ‘not useful” (11%) and “no future” (8%) actually subsumes the above statement that “Spanish is more helpful...” and reveals redundancy and awkwardness in the formulation of this question. If the three categories pointing to the AL’s socio-economic viability are grouped together, this places practical value (41%) at approximately the same level as that of transmission.

This is probably a fairly accurate assessment of why TxAls is not spoken today, i.e. a break in transmission of the AL to the next generation due to socio-historical factors which stigmatized the dialect and resulted in its low social and economic viability. Today Spanish has taken a place next to English as a practical second language. Boas (2009a: 291) also identifies this combination of sociolinguistic and economic factors, i.e., continued stigmatization of German dialects and their low practical value to account for the general decline of TxG in New Braunfels.

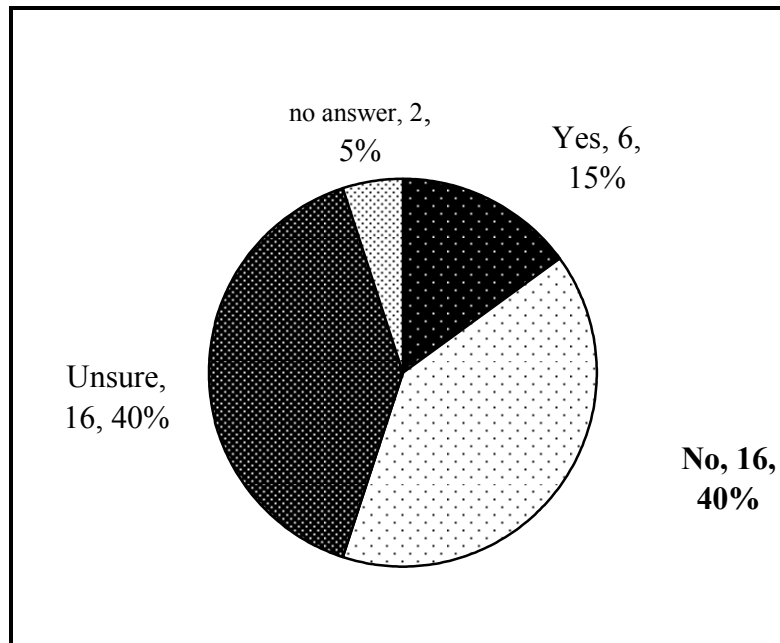
Given the decline of TxAls, how do its speakers evaluate the future of their language? Two questions on whether Texas Alsatian *should* and *would* be preserved were juxtaposed in order to gauge positive attitudes toward their language against perceptions of its place as a useful language. Figure 6.8 shows speaker opinions on its worthiness to be preserved.

Figure 6.8: “Texas Alsatian *should* be preserved”



To the question as to whether it should be preserved, 85% responded positively and 10% were unsure—an overwhelming positive response and indicative of the high value they place on their ancestral language. Figure 6.9 shows speaker opinions on the practical value of their AL.

Figure 6.9: “Texas Alsatian *will* be preserved”



In stark contrast to Figure 6.8, only 15% expressed certainty of its preservation, while 40% were certain of its disappearance and an additional 40% unsure of its future. Much of the uncertainty expressed above stems from two insights I obtained from speaker comments during interviews. Speakers generally exhibited a fatalistic attitude toward preservation: they described their efforts extensively, but attributed the failure to transmit the language to an absence of reciprocal interest. Secondly, there has been much energy spent on private initiatives, but little done to procure political or institutional support for the language. Reluctance on the part of the informants to express negative attitudes might also account for the large percentage of responses for “unsure,” as many participants know of my efforts to preserve the language.

Interestingly, in a random sampling of the TGDP questionnaires on thirty TxG speakers the responses were very similar: 96% responded affirmatively that TxG should

be preserved, but only 12% believed it would be preserved (Shaw 2007, unpublished paper).

6.7 PRESERVATION

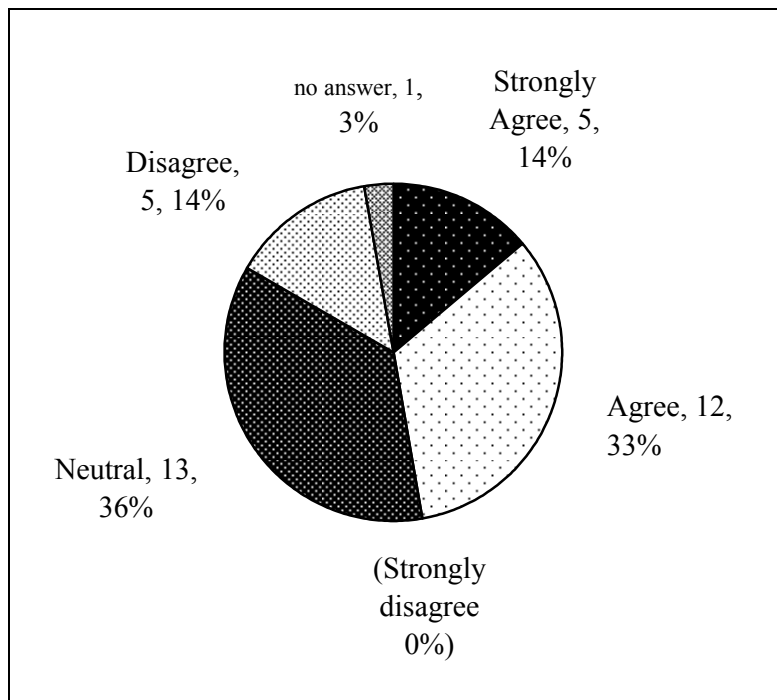
Nettle and Romaine (2000: 177) propose a bottom-up approach to language maintenance beginning with local groups and agencies, insisting it start on the home front (versus schools, government, etc.) to ensure intergenerational transmission. At this stage in TxAls where few to none of the fluent speakers are transmitting the language and conversely, there are only rare examples of younger speakers who desire to learn it, preservation issues are seemingly moot. Currently, Alsatian history and language are not included in Castroville parochial or public school curricula. A recent private initiative of Alsatian language instruction in the community has been unsuccessful due to overly prescriptive teaching methods employed by untrained native speakers. The aging speaker population is fast diminishing.

On the other hand, fluent speakers still have some opportunity to transmit the language to their grandchildren. There is avid interest in and support of the local Alsatian heritage organization, Castro Colonies Heritage Association, and in the city partnership with the French Alsace. My suggestion to develop an educational unit for use in the parochial and public schools has been well received. The initiation of a student foreign exchange program between Castroville and its partner cities and the Alsace could also rekindle interest in their cultural heritage by personalizing the experience. In fact, if certain preservation efforts as suggested above were implemented now, and/or if speakers

made concerted efforts to talk to their grandchildren or great-grandchildren,³⁰⁵ the language might have a slight chance of survival.

As I was interested in gauging the depth of positive attitudes as well as what the informants believe to be effective strategies for preservation, several questions investigated attitudes on individual agency and opinions on preservation strategies. Investigating speaker agency in preserving Alsatian provided revealing insights as shown by the data from the Alsatian questionnaire in Figure 6.10. Thirty-six participants were asked to respond to the statement “I can play an important part in preserving Alsatian.”

Figure 6.10: “I can play an important part in preserving Alsatian”

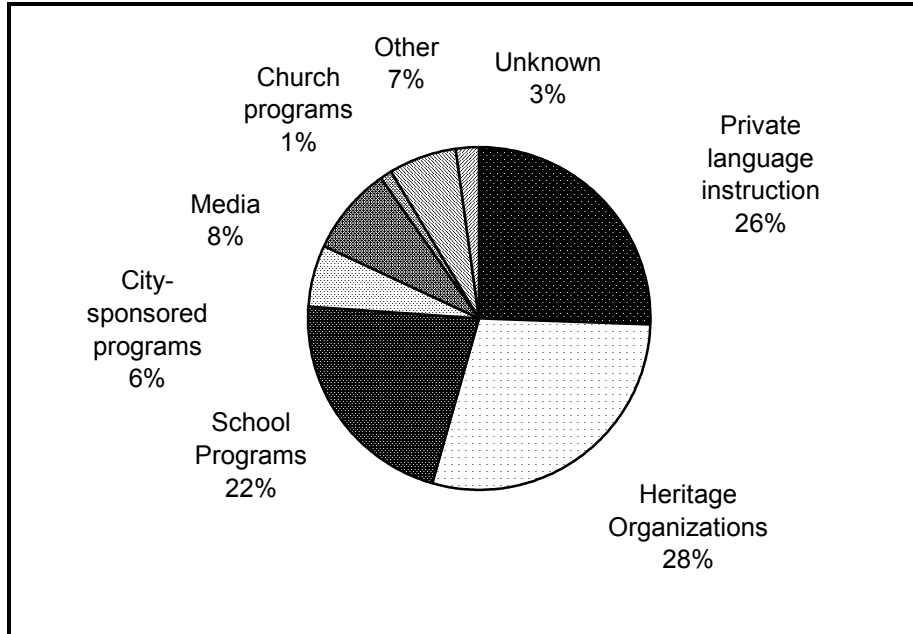


³⁰⁵ Yves Bisch, a well-known Alsatian author in France, emphasized the importance of using the language with the upcoming generation (i.e., his grandchildren) in his interview with me, even though the interceding generation does not speak Alsatian.

Half (50%) of the respondents expressed a lack of confidence in their own ability to preserve the language, i.e. 36% of the participants selected “neutral” and 14% “disagree,” but 47% expressed a positive attitude toward their ability to make a difference in preserving TxAls. This suggests that if strategies were drafted and implemented, there would be good support from the TxAls community.

To tap into informants’ opinions on effective preservation strategies in the community, a question which investigated possible strategies was posed, giving public and private alternatives (Nettle & Romaine 2000), as well as an “other” option for suggestions. Respondents were asked to select three alternatives provided: school programs, private language instruction, heritage organizations, city-sponsored programs, church programs, and media.

Figure 6.11: “How to preserve the Alsatian heritage”

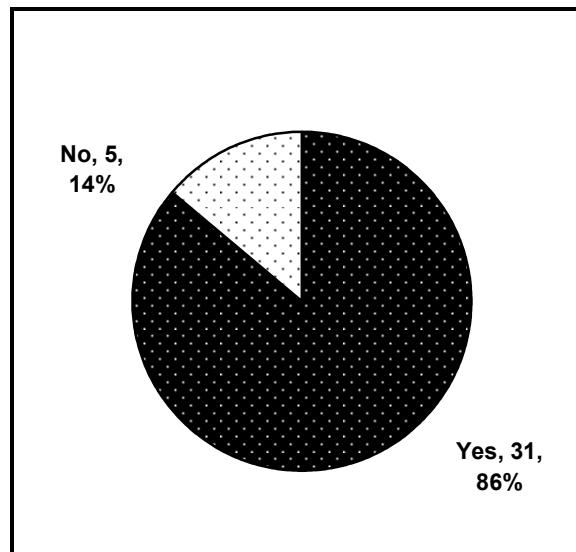


Respondents considered heritage organizations (28%), private language instruction (26%), and school programs (22%) the most effective means of language preservation, and city-sponsored programs were given a confidence vote of 6%. “Other” suggestions included foreign exchange programs, family-initiated efforts, preserving old homes, speaking the language, “what for?” and addendums such as an Alsatian column in the newspaper.

Finally, a question segueing into attitudes toward institutional (education) support of Texas Alsatian asked: “Should Alsatian language and/or history be a part of the Medina County school curriculum?”

Figure 6.12: Institutional support

“Should Alsatian language and/or history be a part of the school curriculum?”



Thirty-one of the thirty-six respondents (86%) answered in the affirmative. Most participants view the educational system as a viable means of preservation, but express negativity through counter-comments indicating that the student would not choose to do

it. Several rather fatalistic handwritten comments were appended, including “probably would have little or no interest” or “I wish this could happen, but there would not be enough interest,” and “there are not too many people interested in the Alsatian history and to teach the language would have no value,” as well as an interesting suggestion to incorporate music. It appears many respondents do not consider a history unit on the founding history of Castroville as sufficient justification for including it in the mandatory curriculum.

6.8 SUMMARY

This chapter has shown a profile of approximately one-fourth of the Castroville TxAls speaker population regarding attitudes, dispositions, and ideologies surrounding the Alsatian ethnic identity based on an analysis of data from the Alsatian Questionnaire (with supplemental data from the TGDP survey where questions overlapped).

First, I defined the “in-group” attitudes of the TxAls group towards newcomers and the TxG community. Responses indicate a still-present, but shrinking distinction between these groups, reflecting a diminishing degree of “group vitality.” I demonstrated the importance and the status of the TxAls language as an integral part of the group identity, working from the general term, “Alsatian,” with which these speakers define themselves, and moving toward identifying the specific components which comprises their concept of “Alsatian” comprises. I subsequently explored perceptions of individual speaker agency and attitudes toward the preservation of TxAls.

Aspects which reflect a high degree of group vitality (in this chapter, strong ethnic identity transmitted through language, customs, ancestry, and religious traditions), are steadily weakening due to sheer reduction in number and strength due to marriage and dispersement. With regard to language, the majority of speakers believe TxAls should be

preserved, indicating a high degree of loyalty toward their ancestral language, but have little faith and/or knowledge of strategies designed to preserve and revitalize it. Attempts to preserve the language have been undertaken, but are not focusing on the most vital preservation strategies, such as transmission to subsequent generations or eliciting political and institutional support for the TxAls language.

This study offers only a preliminary analysis of attitudes and ideologies in this community due to certain gaps in the data, but current data suggests the importance of further inquiry into attitudinal factors affecting the preservation and revitalization of TxAls.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

Na, no, es isch, d'Elsassich Sproch isch dou (Castroville) verloore, will viel von d'r elsassr Maidla un Büewa dien Amerikaner hierouta odr Mexikaner, dann isch scho fertig, weil sie kenne anandr nitt versteh un sie mien Englisch rede. Dou isch d'Sproch verloore. In ei Generatiö isch alles verloore. Un das seht man scho.

‘Well, no, it’s, the Alsatian language is lost here (Castroville), because a lot of the Alsatian girls and boys are marrying Americans or Mexicans, then it’s already finished, because they can’t understand each other and they have to speak English. The language is lost here. In one generation all will be lost. And one already can see that.’

--#202, January 2007

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Participant #202 directly addresses the endangered status of Texas Alsatian³⁰⁶ in his statement above (see also #202’s statement in §1.5), which reiterates one factor behind the disintegration of its use within the family unit. The main criteria for determining endangerment are usually based on the number of speakers (e.g. Krauss 1992), the age of its proficient speakers (e.g. McConvell 2002), or the additional criterion of its acquisition by younger children (Kinkade 1991). Krauss (1992) classifies a language as “safe” if there are more than 100,000 speakers, while McConvell (2002) identifies a language as “strong” if all ages speak the language, but already endangered if young children do not speak the ancestral language. When tested against any of these models, TxAls unmistakably falls into the category of an endangered language or even

³⁰⁶ This does not reflect the status of the Alsatian dialect in France, which remains robust with 600,000 speakers (Héran et al. 2002: 3, Duée 2002).

“critically endangered” language (McConvell 2002). Its numbers are extremely small with estimation at approximately one hundred speakers, of whom only circa 10% are proficient in the ancestral language. These proficient speakers all exceed the age of sixty and there are no children who have acquired the language. Despite an obvious safety in numbers as discussed by Krauss (1992), this alone does not ensure a language’s preservation. Its status (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 9) and contributing attitudes affected by such factors as socio-historical events can determine its path toward survival or extinction. Often it is a unique combination—an “intricate matrix of variables” (Grenoble & Whaley 1998: 2)—of these factors which provide the right conditions for its maintenance or loss.

Expanding Weinrich’s (1953: 44) prescriptive framework for examining languages in contact, this study has focused upon three types of descriptive analyses to investigate and account for the extent and nature of linguistic change or maintenance in TxAls: (1) a socio-historical and socio-cultural analysis (Chapter Two); (2) a structural analysis of lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic features (Chapters Three, Four, Five), i.e. lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic features; and (3) an analysis of attitudes, dispositions, and ideologies related to prestige, choice, and preservation of TxAls (Chapter Six). In this process, another purpose which initiated this study has been realized: the digital documentation of the endangered TxAls dialect as it is spoken today.

The study’s research questions have served as overarching structures in the analysis of each of these areas. These findings are summarized under each question in the subsequent sections. The first three sections review my observations of structural maintenance and loss as compared to the Upper Rhine Alsatian (URA) donor dialect(s) and the latter three sections focus on extra-linguistic factors which have been instrumental in maintaining the ancestral language or contributing to its decline. I

conclude with a synopsis of implications for research areas on language contact, language death, and linguistic change.

7.2 STRUCTURAL MAINTENANCE OF THE ALS DONOR DIALECT(S)

Research Question #1:

What are some linguistic features of the European donor dialect(s) that have been maintained in TxAls?

Structural maintenance of the European donor dialect(s) was first approached by substantiating the area of origin of the Castroville Alsatians. The origin of these immigrants is well-documented, unlike the difficulties encountered when trying to pinpoint the origin of other TxG varieties (cf. Boas 2005, 2009). The Alsatian community in Texas is unique in that specific villages of origin can be identified and thus enables identification of local variation. 94% of the Alsatian colonists emigrated from the Upper Rhine Department and a majority of these from villages located between Colmar and Mulhouse. Two descriptive grammars of the area around Colmar (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989) and Mulhouse (Troxler-Lasseaux, Nouvelle, & Schmitt-Troxler 2003) were used as an index for identifying features characteristic of Upper Rhine Alsatian to substantiate maintenance of and/or variation from the donor dialect(s) in TxAls.

Although all German dialects share a common lexical stock, I recorded the maintenance of several distinctive ALS lexical items (some of which are also shared with other southern dialects) in TxAls vis-à-vis other TxG dialects in Chapter Three. Among the informants who responded to specific Gilbert translations tasks for ALS verbs *käija* SG *fallen* ('to fall') and *lüega* SG *sehen* ('to see, look') (Tables 3.1 and 3.2), or ALS nouns *Ross* SG *Pferd* ('horse') and *Maidla* SG *Mädchen* ('girl') (Tables 3.4 and 3.5), 92-100% of these participants produced the distinctive ALS lexical item.

In Chapter Four, I compared seven ALS phonological features (three vocalic and four consonantal features which distinguish the ALS dialect(s) from SG) with my 2009 TxAls data, and established a high percentage of maintenance of these characteristics in TxAls. This was substantiated by comparing Gilbert's (1972) data in Medina County (including thirteen Alsatian speakers) with my 2009 data from twenty-seven TxAls speakers. For example, Tables 4.4 and 4.5 show the maintenance of the ALS backing and lowering of MHG $\ddot{e} > a$. For example, 88% of the 2009 participants in Table 4.5 produced /a/ in ALS *Fanschteř* versus SG /ε/ in *Fenster* ('window'). The retention of MHG long vowels \hat{i} and \hat{u} was demonstrated in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 and retention of MHG diphthongs *ie* and *uo* was indicated in Table 4.10. The spirantization of intervocalic /b/ was represented in Table 4.11. The apical trill for /r/ was produced systematically by all speakers, although there were occurrences of the retroflex /r/ indicative of transference from English. Developments regarding the velar fricative and the set of stops are discussed in the next section. Using Gilbert's data, I was also able to identify phonological cases of dialect-mixing between TxAls and TxG, as in *Fenschteř* ('window') where both the TxG [ε] and the TxAls [ʃ] and [ř] were produced.

I then examined morphosyntactic properties of the noun and verb in Chapter Five, such as gender, case, and plural markings of the noun and pronoun, finite and non-finite verb forms, and verb tenses by applying the methodology described above. While gender and case markings indicated simplification (see next section), plural markings remained fairly consistent with URA markings (Table 5.13). There was an especially high percentage of 2009 responses showing preservation of distinctive ALS demonstrative forms *da*, *dia*, *dàs* ('this') and *saller*, *salla*, *sall* ('that') (Tables 5.8 – 5.10).

Finite and non-finite verb forms such as monosyllabic infinitives have also been well-maintained. As URA does not have a preterite tense to express the past, it was not

surprising that temporal auxiliaries and past participle forms which form the present perfect have remained largely intact. To still be explored is the role that markedness (Campbell & Muntzel 1989: 189) plays in the maintenance of certain distinctive structural features in TxAls.

7.3 STRUCTURAL LOSS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN TXALS

Research Question #2:

How does TxAls differ from its European donor dialects?

This question was investigated by comparing and analyzing descriptive accounts of Upper Rhine Alsatian around Colmar and Mulhouse (and recorded interviews of French Alsations) with data obtained during interviews with Texas Alsations. I identified several developments in progress indicative of convergence with TxG and English.

There has been a widespread loss of lexical items associated with more formal registers (or “stylistic shrinkage,” Campbell & Muntzel 1989: 195), which is indicative of shift which restricted use of Alsatian to private domains. Typically, speakers can converse on topics associated with family and work, such as childhood, holidays, and hunting, but have difficulty with more complex issues requiring a broader base of vocabulary. Many formerly-fluent speakers required extra time for accessing even everyday vocabulary due to infrequent use. English words are found intermittently in TxAls today, and various terms common to the majority of speakers are core borrowings integrated into the lexicon. Examples of these are cultural borrowings such as ‘tank’ or ‘pasture,’ or core borrowings such as *carra*, *machine*, *sink*, and *budel*. These established borrowings are usually structurally and phonologically integrated. Individual speakers also randomly insert English nouns and verbs when they cannot immediately access the

Alsatian term or it has been forgotten. Occasionally, English discourse markers are inserted. These insertions are also often phonologically integrated.

Phonologically, I observed cases of vowel hyper-lengthening in both closed and open syllables such as [fa:nʃtʁ] ALS [fanʃtʁ] ('window') or [do:ʊ] ALS [do:] ('here') representative of the Texas accent of American English. Like Gilbert (1972: 1-2), I also noted a great deal of variation in the articulation of labial, alveolar, and velar stops word-initially and intervocalically ranging from lenis unaspirated voiceless stops (p, t, k, b, d, g) as in [ly:əgə, ly:əkə] ('to look') and [kʁy:t, gʁy:t] ('cabbage'), to fortis articulation as in [khe:t] ('to fall') or [pat^ha:tə, pað^ha:ða] ('sweet potato'). There was also evidence of voiced labial, alveolar, and velar stops as in [bu:βə] ('boy'), [di:ʁ] ('animal'), and [gəŋə] ('went'). This development, however, is difficult to account for as there is also great variation in the donor dialects of TxAls and TxG. Although many fluent speakers still produce the velar fricative [x] in most environments, there is evidence of a development toward the palatal [ç]. Table 4.12 shows a tendency (26%) of current TxAls speakers to drop the fricative word-finally (apocope) in ALS [mɪlx, mɛlx] ('milk') resulting in TxAls [mɪla]. The form [mɪlax] produced by 30% of the 2009 informants showing vowel epenthesis between the liquid and fricative most likely constitutes the intermediate form between [mɪlx] and [mɪla].

Within my morphosyntactic analysis, I noted a general simplification of definite articles marking gender and case. Many participants regularize the ALS *d'r*, *d'*, and *'s* SG *der*, *die*, *das* ('the') to one gender article *d'* in the nominative and accusative case. Semi-speakers in particular produced this regularized article which points to substratum transfer, i.e., new features are introduced by shifting bilingual speakers and then imitated by speakers learning the AL as a second language (Winford 2003: 56). Although there is a high degree of maintenance of dative case markings (Table 5.11), there is variability

evident in producing both nom/acc markings (Table 5.12) and dative markings. In general, this indicates a beginning disintegration of the NA/D opposition characteristic of URA, also evidenced in my data for pronouns, as in Table 5.19 (dative feminine pronoun). As noted above, URA verb tenses have been maintained but a reduction in the aspects of mood and voice are evident. Only the most fluent speakers still produce passive and subjunctive forms.

Associated with morphosyntactic reduction is the accompanying inflexibility in word order as it shifts from synthetic to more analytic structures. The URA (and SG) sequence of Time-Manner-Place illustrated in Table 5.28 compared with the resampling of Gilbert's (1972) data shows a shift of time adverbials to the last position as in English.

7.4 TXALS VERSUS OTHER TXG VARIETIES IN THE WESTERN SETTLEMENTS

Research Question #3:

How does TxAls differ from other varieties of TxG?

To frame linguistic differences between TxAls and other TxG dialects, cultural differences between the two communities in religion, education, and social networks were discussed in Chapters One and Two. Linguistic differences were first discussed in terms of mutual intelligibility in Chapter One, which showed a low level (*sometimes-seldom-never*) of comprehensibility between the two dialects despite prolonged and intense contact (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic comparisons were made between the prevalent TxG variety in Gillespie County and TxAls in Medina County with the help of Gilbert's data and in some cases, Boas' (2009a) data for Comal County. In general, the differences between TxAls and other TxG varieties reflect the broader regional donor dialects of the western TxG settlements

(central and north-central German dialects) and the TxAls settlements (southern German dialects). TxAls distinguishes itself in varying degrees lexically, phonologically, and morphosyntactically from other varieties of TxG, which are near-standard and generally represent differences between the ALS dialect and SG, respectively.

Interesting lexical differences between TxAls and TxG nouns and verbs were introduced in Chapter Three, such as those for SG/TxG *fallen*, ALS/TxAls *käija* ('to fall') and SG/TxG *Pferd* ALS/TxAls *Ross* ('horse'). Phonological differences, however, seem to largely account for the relative incomprehensibility between speakers of TxAls and neighboring communities of TxG. Vocalic differences (which also differentiate words for the listener in any language) in ALS due to certain developments during the Middle High German (MHG) period were discussed and compared at length. The three vocalic features investigated were (1) the ALS retention of MHG long vowels *î* and *û* versus SG diphthongization to *ai* and *au*, (2) retention of MHG diphthongs *ie* and *uo* versus SG monophthongs *i* and *o*, and (3) the development of *a* for MHG *ë*, which was retained in SG.

Basic morphosyntactic differences also reflected the donor dialects of the respective varieties. Case-marking patterns provided examples of the most noticeable differences. Whereas TxAls models an ALS distinction between the nominative / accusative and the dative (NA/D), other TxG varieties model the northern dialect distinction between a nominative and oblique case (N/AD). This case merger for most dialects is partial, affecting some categories (e.g., determiners, modifiers) while not affecting others (e.g. pronouns).

7.5 GROUP IDENTITY MARKERS OF THE CASTROVILLE ALSATIAN COMMUNITY

Research Question #4:

Which linguistic features and extra-linguistic factors serve as identity markers for the community of TxAls speakers?

Determining specific linguistic features which serve as identity markers is difficult considering the extent to which TxAls speakers have maintained lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic features of the URA donor dialect(s). I observed, for example, that the trilled apical /r/ is systematically produced by TxAls speakers. Considering the presence of fluent speakers who acquired TxAls as a child, it is difficult to ascertain whether this feature is consciously used to distinguish themselves from TxG speakers in the community. In some sense, the fact that TxAls speakers still produce the trilled apical /r/, given the fact that for most, English is their first language, seems to indicate at some level that they use this /r/ and other distinctive ALS features discussed above to “mark” their belonging to the group of Castroville Alsations and separate themselves from the group of TxG speakers. It is a complex issue, especially in view of the fact that it is difficult to distinguish between unconscious and conscious “acts of identity” (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

An added dimension of complexity is that external aspects of identity (Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, & Reitz 2000) mirror internal aspects and cannot be separated from each other. For example, language is usually the most visible external symbol of a group, but its transmission and maintenance stem from internal “behavior” or attitudes, beliefs, and feelings. I have shown that despite loss of prestige and stigmatization, Alsatian was still transmitted to the next generation until circa 1940 and continues to be spoken and maintained within the in-group seventy years later, which demonstrates group solidarity and obligation.

Questions on the Alsatian Questionnaire (AQ) attempted to tap into internal aspects of attitudes, feelings, and beliefs as to what constitutes “being Alsatian.” For example, Figure 6.3 summarizes what Texas Alsations considered the most important markers (external and internal) of their identity. The results (in order of importance among the choices given) show that Alsatian lineage, language, work ethics, foods and recipes, religious affiliation, and lastly, music and songs all play some part in their concept of the Alsatian ethnic identity. The highest-ranked item, Alsatian lineage, is perhaps considered the defining marker by participants. I mentioned the prestige associated with lineage from the early colonists in Chapter Two. Even the few Alsations who have emigrated recently to Castroville are not necessarily considered “full-fledged members” of the Texas Alsatian community.

The next section addresses further observations on attitudes, dispositions, and ideologies important to the discussion of linguistic maintenance.

7.6 ATTITUDES, DISPOSITIONS, AND IDEOLOGIES

Research Question #5: Which ideologies and speaker attitudes have contributed to the linguistic preservation of TxAls?

Given the length of contact with English, which was established as almost immediate in Chapter Two, and the largely intact structural maintenance of the ancestral language into the sixth generation, I investigated various attitudes, dispositions, and ideologies of the group to help account for maintenance. Specifically, I attempted to establish the strength of association with their ethnic identity in order to show “group vitality” (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor 1977). Many questions on the Alsatian Questionnaire were designed to inquire into individual’s opinions and beliefs to gauge group attitudes

and ideologies. For example, questions investigated how large a part their ethnicity plays in their self-image (#30), to what degree they maintain a “separate-ness” from other ethnic groups, i.e., the Texas Germans (#15, 21), or attitudes toward the out-group in general, i.e., newcomers (#33, #34). The results of these questions show a still-strong association with their ethnic heritage separating them from other TxG groups: 46% (Figure 6.2) identify their ethnicity as a very important/important part of their identity. 40% of the participants consider themselves separate from the TxG community (Figure 6.5) and 60% noted differences in ancestry, language, and traditions separating the TxAls from the TxG community (Figure 6.6).

Other questions (e.g. #s 6, 25) targeting attitudes toward the perceived prestige of the ancestral language indicated predominantly positive attitudes. Figure 6.1 shows that 56% consider Alsatian an independent language versus a dialect (38%) and Figure 6.8 reveals that 85% believe that TxAls is worthy of preservation. In stark contrast to these positive attitudes toward TxAls, however, are fatalistic and negative attitudes toward its practical value, which will be discussed in the next section. Political and economic developments presented in Chapter Two also point to strong attitudinal characteristics of independence, self-reliance, and resistance to change which epitomized group ideologies and supported ethnic insularity.

This solidarity and obligation to the group is evident externally in such actions as maintaining the ancestral language and actively participating in activities which support (and strengthen) the Alsatian heritage and traditions. It is largely external factors such as migration, intermarriage, and the dominance of English in public sectors (supported by English-only ideologies and policies) which have affected group number and institutional support. The next section focuses upon a combination of extra-linguistic factors which have triggered and accelerated the decline of TxAls.

7.7 THE DECLINE OF TXALS

Research Question #6: Which extra-linguistic factors are triggering the rapid decline of TxAls currently in progress?

The socio-historical events which generally affected TxG dialects were introduced in §1.5 and elaborated upon in Chapter Two. Several generations of TxG scholars point to events surrounding the two World Wars with Germany as the enemy as the turning point in the prestige of German dialects in Texas. German was the language of the enemy and stigmatized. In the Castroville community, comments made by #202 point to ostracism of its speakers and general loss of its economic and social value. #202 also indicates decisions on the part of parents not to transmit the AL to their children because “*es profitiert sie nitt*” (‘it’s of no use to them’). Figure 6.7 shows general consensus on the failure to transmit the AL as to why TxAls is spoken less today. It is clear that the prevalent national ideology that associated German-Americans with the German enemy stigmatized the language in general and minimized its viability in public domains, but I have also shown that TxAls continued to be spoken and taught in the home until the early 1940s.

This transmission appears to have been extremely family-dependent, as there are fluent speakers scattered throughout all four age-groups until 1940. However, it seems that TxAls was able to sustain local prestige by emphasizing its Alsatian (now “French”) heritage. Nevertheless, increasing urbanization and migration of younger generations toward other centers which afforded better economic opportunities weakened the few instances of family-centered transmission. The economic, political, and social dominance of English coupled with the communicative usefulness of Spanish in Texas (Figure 6.7) as a second-language has left TxAls with little practical value.

Currently, the TxAls-speaking community has dwindled in number to only approximately 100 speakers due factors such as the advanced age of the speaker population, migration, and marriage with non-speakers of TxAls. In spite of its reduced number, concerted efforts of key individuals have managed to sustain the ancestral language and traditions along with the renewal of lateral partnership connections with the Alsace. However, as in other TxG communities, TxAls appears reluctant to solicit the support of public institutions, possibly due to their dispositions of fierce independence and self-reliance alluded to by Ahr (2003), which were conversely instrumental in sustaining their ethnicity over a period of six generations. In addition, most participants express negativism and fatalism toward the survival of TxAls, as evidenced by the response to AQ Question #26, “Do you think TxAls will be preserved?” Forty percent believe that it will not be preserved and forty percent are “unsure.” Only fifteen percent responded positively. The figurehead of the TxAls-speaking community, #202, too, reiterates the general consensus that “the language is lost.” These negative attitudes, unless somehow reversed, will make statements such as these a self-fulfilling prophecy within the next few decades.

7.8 IMPLICATIONS FOR VARIOUS RESEARCH AREAS

To provide a preliminary descriptive account of Texas Alsatian and determine the extent of its preservation by current TxAls speakers, I adopted a three-pronged approach for studying languages in contact (Weinrich 1953). This type of multi-level approach has been widely accepted by theoreticians who examine different outcomes in situations of language contact: maintenance (e.g. Kloss 1965, Campbell 1994), shift (e.g., Batibo 1992, Mattheier 1996) leading to loss (e.g. Dorian 1973, 1978, 1981), endangerment (e.g. Edwards 1992; Grenoble & Whaley 1998), and death (e.g. Dressler 1988, Lyle &

Muntzel 1989, Crystal 2000, Wolfram 2002). Directionality and agentivity of a change (maintenance vs. loss; internal vs. external) must also be considered. In a contact situation, the direction toward either preservation or loss is determined by an “intricate matrix of variables” (Grenoble & Whaley 1998) unique to the speech community. I therefore consulted theoretical frameworks based upon multi-level and multi-directional factors under the premise that an adequate description and satisfactory explanations for preservation or change cannot be arrived at without incorporating the historical and social context of a language contact situation. This study has accordingly undertaken the task of describing the socio-historical context of the TxAls-speaking community in Castroville and the linguistic subsystems of the dialect (lexicon, phonology, and morphology), as well as socio-psychological aspects of speaker attitudes and community ideologies, and sociolinguistic aspects of speaker choice in language use.

Winford (2003: 11) distinguishes between three kinds of contact situations: those involving (1) language maintenance, (2) language shift, and (3) the creation of new contact languages. I have shown that TxAls can be associated most strongly with language maintenance due to its high degree of linguistic preservation by the speech community in Castroville. Preservation implies that the language has changed only minimally due to internal developments or contact with other languages (English and Texas German), and the phonological, morphological, and core lexicon subsystems have remained relatively intact (Winford 2003: 12). The high degree of linguistic preservation suggests strong speaker agentivity which is best addressed by sociolinguistic and socio-psychological approaches such as group vitality (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor 1977), language choice as a social act (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985, Vassberg 1993), and theories of accommodation and divergence (e.g. Bourhis & Giles 1977, Myers-Scotton 2006).

On the other hand, this last generation of speakers also represents a continuum in the fluency of its speakers, from fluent to strong and weak semi-speakers (including formerly-fluent speakers) to rememberers. The semi-speakers in this continuum exhibit variation and lexical and grammatical attrition. For all of these speakers, English is their dominant language, which is also representative of contact situations where there has been a shift to a “pragmatically-dominant language” (Matras 1998). TxAls has not been transmitted to the next generation due to socio-historical and socio-linguistic factors and will conceivably disappear within the next two to three decades. In this context, this study informs research on language shift and its outcomes of loss, endangerment, and death.

The following subsections address some implications of the findings of this study within the broader field of language contact (maintenance, shift, death) from different perspectives (i.e., linguistic, sociolinguistic) of research within different contexts (e.g., Texas German dialects, German-speaking enclaves in the U.S. and other countries)

The following discussion connects the findings of this study with its implications for research on language contact and related phenomena, as well as for broader areas of research such as processes involved in linguistic change.

7.8.1 Implications for linguistic research on language maintenance

To ascertain the extent of linguistic (lexical, phonological, morphological) preservation of TxAls by current speakers by comparing it (1) to descriptive phonological and grammatical accounts of Upper Rhine Alsatian (Philipp & Bothorel-Witz 1989, Troxler-Lasseaux et al. 2003) and (2) to phonological and grammatical data collected by Gilbert (1972) in Medina County in the 1960s. As summarized in the preceding sections on my research questions, the lexical, phonological, and morphological subsystems of the

donor dialect have been preserved to a high degree. In particular, the phonology has remained remarkably intact, as in the case of the apical trill and rising diphthongs, both of which are marked features as compared with SG or the majority of TxG dialects. This has implications for markedness theories such as those discussed by Campbell & Muntzel (1989), as well as for language mixing or the creation of new contact languages (Trudgill 2004). This preservation of linguistic subsystems is pertinent to past research on German-American dialects as found in Pennsylvania German speech communities (e.g. Molleken 1983, Huffines 1989, 1990, Loudon 1992, Van Ness 1996) and also opens avenues for future comparison, given certain features shared by Alsatian and Franconian. This study also has implications for research on Texas German dialects (Gilbert 1965a, Salmons 1983, Boas 2009a, 2009b), specifically with regard to the morphosyntactic preservation of dative case-markings. Some morphological variability and indications of loss were identified in the speech of formerly-fluent and semi-speakers and are discussed within implications for research on language death in §7.8.3.

To account for this high degree of linguistic preservation, however, sociolinguistic approaches offer the most pertinent explanatory frameworks, specifically those which address speaker agentivity in terms of language as acts of identity (e.g., Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985, Vassberg 1993, Myers-Scotton 1993a, etc.) in situations where language choice is predicated.

7.8.2 Implications for sociolinguistic research on language maintenance

The disruption of bilingual stability between 1920 and 1940 resulting in shift was discussed within the sociolinguistic context of language choice, where a dominant majority language is adopted over a regressive minority language in an unstable bilingual or multilingual speech community (Dressler 1988: 184). I showed that socio-historical

events stigmatizing the German language and its dialects coupled with a strong national English-only ideology and laws essentially forcing a shift to English in public domains situated English as the only alternative because of its overwhelming practical value (see Boas 2009a for Texas German, also Nettle & Romaine 2000 for dying languages, etc.).

This study examined contact-induced phenomena such as diglossia, borrowing, and code-switching which inform the sociolinguistics of language choice. It was established that a stable diglossia (Fishman 1965) between English and Alsatian must have been quickly established during the early years of settlement, with each language taking on mutually exclusive functions in complementary domains, much like classic diglossia (Ferguson 1959) in Switzerland, where different varieties of a language are allocated to specific domains. The multilingual make-up of the Castroville community necessitated a lingua franca for the different groups of dialect and language speakers, and a relatively stable bilingualism with diglossia (Fishman 1967) was established, with English used in public domains and Alsatian (and other dialects) used mainly in private domains. Although this stability was disrupted by socio-historical events between 1920 and 1940 which generated social and linguistic stigmatization of German dialects, many continued to use TxAls in domains of home and friends. This has implications for research on speaker motivations (identity, accommodation, symbolic power) for making certain language choices.

The patterns of borrowing in TxAls, however, support linguistic preservation in that most loanwords seem to be cultural borrowings (Myers-Scotton 2006) that became established in the lexicon and are still used in the community today. These loanwords have also been phonologically and grammatically integrated, suggesting that they are established loanwords (Poplack 1980, Poplack, Sankoff, & Miller 1988, Clyne 2003). In general, I established that borrowed vocabulary played only a small role in the

community (Poplack, Sankoff, & Miller 1988). The presence of puristic efforts by a few fluent speakers to limit “nonce borrowings” has also supported linguistic maintenance to some extent, but only within a limited scope.

The examination of instances of code-switching held against theoretical frameworks such as those proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a), Muysken (2000), and Clyne (2003) suggests that fluency and frequency of use of the AL are crucial prerequisites for social explanations motivating alternation. For most of the participants, code-switching was mainly motivated by a lack of fluency (*referential*, Appel & Muysken 1987) rather than with intent to negotiate any social advantage or as a “skilled performance with communicative intent” (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 6). Given the small number of fluent speakers, any extended study on code-switching would be difficult, which suggests that there are definite boundaries regarding bilingual fluency for analyzing code-switching in endangered languages.

7.8.3 Implications for research on linguistic change related to language death

Scholarly discussions of categorizations and causes leading to language death and its structural “signs” (e.g., functional loss, grammatical attrition) vary greatly (see Dressler 1988, Campbell and Munzel 1989, McMahon 1994, Crystal 2000, Wolfram 2000, etc.). However, most agree that in cases of gradual death (as exemplified by TxAls), where one language gradually replaces another, certain linguistic changes take place. Dressler (1988) was one of the first to address these changes typologically in terms of “language decay” and examined structural and functional changes (attrition) that seem to lead to language death. McMahon (1994) succinctly denotes language death as involving “‘normal’ linguistic changes, but occurring at an accelerated rate for particular

sociolinguistic reasons.” This again emphasizes the necessity for sociolinguistic analysis and simultaneously points to the importance of examining synchronic processes of linguistic change studies to inform our understanding of diachronic change.

This study identified linguistic changes in the morphosyntactic structure of TxAls, such as epenthesis or the reduction to and regularization of a “default” article, *d’* (‘the’). Generally, pinpointing the motivation for a change such as the latter as internally or externally-motivated is often difficult. For example, the Alsatian donor dialect itself shows reduction in definite article forms compared with SG, indicating that this reduction in TxAls could be an internal tendency of simplification. However, the contact language, English, with its one definite article form *the*, could also be motivating the reduction to one article observed in the speech of several TxAls speakers.³⁰⁷ This could also be considered an example of structural attrition marking the breakdown of a dying language in its last stages.³⁰⁸ As such, structural changes discussed in this study inform not only research on language death, but also research on synchronic and diachronic change within German-speaking enclaves (e.g., Damke 1997 in Brazil; Clyne 2003 in Australia; Berend 2003 in the USA and Russia, etc.) and language change in general (paradigm reduction, regularization, movement toward analytic structures, borrowing, etc.) These structural changes also inform research on second-language acquisition (i.e., “imperfect learning,” Campbell & Muntzel 1989: 189) pertinent to theoretical issues of learning (saliency, models, etc.) in situations of language shift and death.

³⁰⁷ Cf. also Clausen (1986) for English influences on American-German.

³⁰⁸ This specific case of structural reduction and regularization supports the theory of “multiple causation” proposed by Campbell & Muntzel (1989: 188).

7.8.4 Implications for sociolinguistic research on language death

One of the earliest landmark studies of social factors involved in language death was conducted by Gal (1978) of a Hungarian speech island in Austria. In this study, she identified a stigmatization of the Hungarian dialect within certain groups of the bilingual community of Oberwart. For example, younger speakers associated Hungarian with peasant status and therefore as less prestigious, which identified a conscious shift in attitude of the younger generation towards German. In an extensive study published only a few years later, Dorian (1981) combined both a study of social factors and accompanying linguistic changes that characterized the obsolescence of East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG). This study informs the same body of sociolinguistic research on factors motivating a community to abandon one language in favor of another. As in other German-speaking enclaves in Texas (Salmons 1983, Boas 2009a) and other countries (Clyne 2003 in Australia), I established that social stigmatization resulting from two World Wars with Germany as the “language of the enemy” motivated families to cease transmission of their ancestral language, which ultimately resulted in the decline of Texas Alsatian.

7.9 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The sharp decline of TxAls within the past sixty years mirrors several findings of Boas’ (2009a) study on the decline of New Braunfels TxG in Comal County, for which he also identifies a combination of socio-historical and attitudinal factors. This would reinforce the probability that macro-factors of the World Wars and Anglo-based ideologies were the main catalysts in triggering the rapid decline of TxG dialects.

The extent of the structural preservation of marked phonological and morpho-syntactic features of the TxAls dialect indicates strong group solidarity and obligation to the ancestral language. This preservation also argues against the development of a TxG koiné and provides an example of how attitudinal factors are instrumental to the survival of a language, especially in a linguistic group as small in number as that of Texas Alsatian. At the same time, similar attitudes of self-reliance which enabled the maintenance of TxAls by insulating it from strong outside influences from English resulted in ignoring important means to support their culture and language. Instead of turning to regional and state institutions for support, they have strengthened lateral ties with the Alsace, which has served to revitalize the current community of speakers, but has provided no foundation for its continued support locally or initiated interest in the next generation of potential speakers. Evaluating its overall group vitality today, TxAls ranks low in status, demography, and institutional support. Furthermore, the negative attitudes of current TxAls speakers toward preservation and revitalization efforts contribute to and accelerate its rapid loss. TxAls, like neighboring TxG dialects, will most likely disappear within the next few decades.

Although prospects for its continued preservation are not encouraging, there is still opportunity to collect additional data on the dialect for analysis. In addition, there is still much work to be done to make the data (segmenting, translation, etc.) available online in order to preserve it for future research. Topics mentioned in this study which invite further research include developments in word order, dialect-mixing, and the role of linguistic markedness versus speaker attitudes in language preservation. The overall question remains, however, whether current efforts will suffice to sustain this unique dialect brought to Texas in 1842 by the immigrants Henri Castro recruited, or whether these speakers are truly the last Alsatian cowboys.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Participant Profiles

TEXAS ALSATIAN SPEAKERS W/ GILBERT TASKS

<i>TGDP #</i>	<i>Data</i>	<i>Ancestral village(s)</i>	<i>Birthyear Place</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>When did you learn Alsatian?</i>	<i>What generatio n are you?</i>	<i>I speak:</i>
1. 202 (F)	AQ, Eikel, Gilbert	Oderen	1939	69	Catholic	H.S. diploma	farmer/rancher meat processor	0-5	6 th	fluently
2. 233 (W)	AQ, Gilbert	Oberentzen, Niederentzen	1979 Castroville	29	Catholic	A.A.	EMT, firefighter, farmer/rancher	13-20	6 th	only a little bit
3. 234 (F)	AQ, Gilbert	Niederentzen	1932 LaCoste	76	Catholic	H.S. diploma	loan officer	0-5	-	pretty well
4. 235 (F)	AQ, Gilbert	Irish ancestry	1913 Poteet	95	Catholic	elementary	cook	13-20	n/a	fluently
5. 236 (W)	AQ, Gilbert	Oberentzen- Nieder-entzen, Oderen, Ransbach, Mitzbach, Falkwiller,	1936 Castroville	72	Catholic	H.S.	US Army civil service: computer programmer	6-12	4 th	fair
6. 237 (F)	AQ, Gilbert	Oberentzen	1939 Hondo	69	Catholic	H.S.	self-employed	0-5	5 th	pretty well
7. 238 (F)	AQ, Gilbert	Unknown	1940	68	Catholic	H.S. diploma	farmer/rancher	0-5	5th	fluently
8. 239 (F)	AQ, Gilbert	Bretten	1926 LaCoste	82	Catholic	elementary	homemaker	0-5	-	fluently

9. 240 (S)	AQ, Gilbert	Soppe-le-Haut; Wittelsheim	1933 Castroville	75	Catholic	H.S.	restaurant owner, rancher	0-5	4 th	pretty well
10. 241 (S)	AQ, Gilbert, Eikel	Wittelsheim, Bretten	1925 San Antonio	84	Catholic	M.A.	educator	0-5	5 th	fluently
11. 242 (W)	AQ, Gilbert	Grosne, France Mulhouse, Alsace	1927 San Antonio	81	Catholic	H.S.	homemaker	0-5	4 th	fair
12. 243 (R)	AQ, Gilbert	Rixheim, Alsace	1933 Castroville	75	Catholic	H.S. diploma	carpenter	6-12	4 th	only a little bit
13. 247 (F)	AQ, Gilbert	Epfig	1928 Castroville	80	Catholic	H.S. diploma	electrician	6-12	3 rd	pretty well
14. 248 (S)	AQ, Gilbert	Sewen	1922 Idlewild	86	Catholic		civil service	0-5	4 th	fluently
15. 249a (W)	AQ, Gilbert	St. Amarin, Blodelsheim, Tha nn, Wittelsheim, Hesteren, Falkwiller	1936 D'Hanis	72	Catholic	A.A.	social worker	0-5	4 th	only a little bit
16. 249b (W)	TGDP, Gilbert	same as 249a	1932 D'Hanis	78	Catholic	H.S. diploma	company employee	0-5	4 th	a little bit
17. 249c (W)	TGDP, Gilbert	same as 249a	1927 D'Hanis	81	Catholic	H.S. diploma	telephone operator; insurance co.	0-5	4 th	a little bit
18. 249d (F)	TGDP, Gilbert	same as 249a	2008 D'Hanis	85	Catholic	H.S. diploma		0-5	4 th	well
19. 250 (W)	AQ, Gilbert	Berrwiller, Alsace	1930 Castroville	78	Catholic	H.S. diploma	farmer/rancher	0-5	3 rd	only a little bit
20. 251 (F)	AQ, Gilbert	Soppe-le-Haut	1933 Hondo	75	Catholic	H.S. diploma	construction foreman	6-12	5 th	fluently
21. 252a (S)	AQ, Gilbert		1931 San Antonio	77	Catholic	H.S.	water works employee	6-12 21-35	-	fair

22. 252b (F)	AQ, Gilbert	Oberentzen, Rixheim, Wittelsheim, Falkwiller +	1934 LaCoste	74	Catholic	H.S. diploma	city employee	0-5	5 th	pretty well
23. 254 (F)	AQ, Gilbert, Eikel	Oberentzen, Gundelsheim	1914 Devine	94	Catholic	elementary school	plasterer	0-5	4 th	fluently
24. 255 (S)	AQ, Gilbert	Soppe-le-Haut; Wittelsheim	1939 LaCoste	69	Catholic	B.A.	school administrator	0-5	5 th	pretty well
25. 256 (S)	TGDP, Gilbert	Gundelsheim	† 1921- 2008, LaCoste	87	Catholic	H.S. diploma (1938)		0-5	-	a little bit
26. 257 (S)	AQ, Gilbert	Oberentzen- Niederentzen	1936	72	Catholic	H.S.	entrepreneur, Phillip's Oil; farmer	6-12	5 th	pretty well

OTHER PARTICIPANTS:

<i>I.D.</i>	<i>Data sets</i>	<i>Ancestral Villages</i>	<i>Birth year, Place</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>When did you learn Alsatian?</i>		<i>I speak...</i>
1. B.C. (R)	interview in English; AQ	Soppe-le-Haut, La Chapelle, Wittelsheim	1930 Castroville	78	Catholic	H.S.	retired; town historian	6-12	5 th	only a little bit
2. B.D. (N)	AQ	Falkwiller	1942 Castroville	66	Catholic	B.S.	computer specialist	n/a	4 th	does not speak'
3. B.E. (R)	interview in English; AQ	unknown	1917 LaCoste	91	Catholic	elementary	homemaker	0-5	3 rd	only a little bit
4. D.E. (W)	AQ, TGDP	same as #4	1924 LaCoste	84	Catholic	H.S. diploma	waitress, homemaker	0-5	4 th	only a little bit —no interview
5. E.B. (R)	interview in English; AQ	Bretten	1946	62	Catholic	M.A.	research & development	6-12	5 th	only a little bit

6. F.C. (N)	AQ	Bretten, Bischwihr, Ober/Niederentzen, Heiteren, Etimbes, Blodelsheim, Geiss-wasser, Ungersheim	1934 Del Rio	74	Catholic		teacher, retail sales	n/a	4 th	doesn't speak
7. H.P. (W)	AQ no interview	Oberentzen, Niederentzen	1938	70	Catholic	H.S.	executive secretary	6-12	5 th	fair
8. K.R. (R)	interview in English only; AQ; Gilbert	as above + Bourbach-le-Bas, Soppe- le-Haut, Berrwiller	1939 Hondo	69	Catholic	H.S.	secretary, bookkeeper, homemaker	21- 35	5 th	only a little bit
9. T.C. (W)	AQ	Epfig	1959	49	Catholic	H.S.	teaching assistant	36- 50	4 th	a little bit
10. T.R. (N)	AQ	Milly, Meuse	1931 Del Rio	77	Catholic	H.S.	title company & insurance employee	n/a	4 th	does not speak
11. T.A. (W)	AQ		1934	74	Catholic	H.S.	-	13- 20	5 th	pretty well
12. W.M. (W)	AQ	Oberentzen	1948	60	Catholic	B.S.	electrical engineer	6-12	5 th	only a little bit
13. Z.V. (N)	AQ	Niederentzen	1926 Devine	82	Catholic		teacher	n/a	4 th	doesn't speak

Questionnaire total:

36 Alsatian Questionnaires (including 4 non-speakers)

4 tgdq questionnaires

40 questionnaires

33 interviews in Alsatian or English

Appendix B: Alsatian Questionnaire

ALSATIAN QUESTIONNAIRE

The information you provide will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous as per the conditions provided in the interview consent form.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Birthdate & Place: _____

Ancestral Village(s) in Alsace: _____

Occupation: (before retirement) _____

Religious affiliation: ☐ Catholic ☐ Protestant ☐ other _____ ☐ no affiliation

Highest educational degree: _____

1. What generation of Alsatian ancestry are you? ☐ 1st ☐ 2nd ☐ 3rd ☐ 4th ☐ 5th ☐ 6th+
2. Do you speak Alsatian? ☐ Yes ☐ No (if 'no', proceed to Question 10)
3. If yes, when did you learn it? ☐ 0-5 ☐ 6-12 ☐ 13-20 ☐ 21-35 ☐ 36-50 ☐ 50+
4. From whom did you learn it? (Please check all that apply)
☐ great-grandparents ☐ grandparents ☐ parents (+in-laws) ☐ siblings
☐ spouse ☐ other _____
5. I speak . . . ☐ fluently ☐ pretty well ☐ fair ☐ only a little bit
6. Alsatian is . . . ☐ its own language ☐ a German dialect ☐ a French dialect
7. a. With whom do you speak Alsatian now and how often?
☐ grandparents _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
☐ parents (+in-law) ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
☐ siblings _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
☐ spouse _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
☐ children _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
☐ grandchildren _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a

- ☐ friends _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
- ☐ colleagues _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
- ☐ Alsatian visitors ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
- ☐ others _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
(please specify) _____

b. Where do you speak Alsatian?

- ☐ home _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never
- ☐ church _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
- ☐ social gatherings ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never
- ☐ restaurants, shops ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never
- ☐ work _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a
- ☐ other _____ ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never
(please specify) _____

8. a. When you were a child (~ 6-12 yrs), how often did you speak Alsatian?

- ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a

b. With whom did you speak it? (please check all that apply)

- ☐ grandparents ☐ parents ☐ siblings ☐ friends ☐ teachers ☐ shop-owners
- ☐ other _____

c. Where did you speak it? (please check all that apply)

- ☐ home ☐ school ☐ church ☐ social gatherings ☐ shops ☐ other _____

9. a. When you were a young adult (~ 16-28), how often did you speak Alsatian?

- ☐ always ☐ often ☐ sometimes ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐ n/a

b. With whom did you speak it? (please check all that apply)

- ☐ grandparents ☐ parents ☐ siblings ☐ spouse ☐ friends ☐ colleagues
- ☐ shopowners ☐ other _____

c. Where did you speak it? (please check all that apply)

- ☐ home ☐ church ☐ social gatherings ☐ work ☐ shops ☐ other _____

10. Languages spoken other than English or Alsatian: ☐ Texas German ☐ German

- ☐ Spanish ☐ French ☐ other _____ ☐ none

11. Which languages did your parents speak other than English?

- Mother: ☐ Alsatian ☐ Texas German ☐ German ☐ Spanish ☐ French ☐ other
- Father: ☐ Alsatian ☐ Texas German ☐ German ☐ Spanish ☐ French ☐ other

12. "Knowing languages other than English is important."

☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neutral ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

13. Should a second language be taught in schools? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If YES, at which level should instruction start?

☐ elementary ☐ middle school ☐ high school ☐ college

14. Should Alsatian language and/or history be included as part of the curriculum in Medina County? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Comments:

15. Do you consider yourself a part of the larger Texas-German community?

☐ Yes ☐ No

16. How is the Texas-German community different? (please check all that apply)

☐ no difference

☐ language

☐ church affiliation

☐ traditions

☐ ancestry

☐ education

☐ professions

☐ organizations

☐ other practices (please list) _____

17. Can you understand Texas German? ('Hochdietsch' or 'Plattdietsch')

☐ Always ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Seldom ☐ Never

18. Can Texas Germans understand you when you speak Alsatian?

☐ Always ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Seldom ☐ Never

19. In what form did your parents pass on Alsatian heritage to you? (please check all that apply)

☐ genealogy--family trees, etc

☐ Alsatian language

☐ stories and sayings

☐ religious traditions

☐ music, songs

☐ work ethic and practices

☐ food preparation; recipes

☐ other (please list) _____

☐ n/a

20. Of the above, what have you passed on to the next generation? (please check all that apply)

☐ genealogy

- ☐ Alsatian language
- ☐ stories and sayings
- ☐ religious traditions
- ☐ music, songs
- ☐ work ethic and practices
- ☐ food preparation; recipes
- ☐ other (please list) _____
- ☐ n/a

21. How do you stay connected with your Alsatian heritage? (please check all that apply, also PAST activities you have participated in!)

- ☐ n/a
- ☐ neighbors and friends
- ☐ language lessons
- ☐ newspaper or newsletters
- ☐ city government
- ☐ church community
- ☐ library programs
- ☐ contact with Alsations from Europe
- ☐ genealogical research
- ☐ heritage organizations
- ☐ special-interest clubs: (singing, gun, cards, sports, etc.)
- ☐ other (please list): _____

Comments:

22. How does the church community play a role in maintaining Alsatian heritage?
Please check all that apply.

- ☐ no role
- ☐ teaches religious Alsatian traditions
- ☐ promotes Alsatian community identity
- ☐ provides opportunities to speak Alsatian
- ☐ other (please list) _____

23. What defines your Alsatian heritage? Please RANK the following from 1-6 in importance (1 being the highest):

- ☐ ancestral history
- ☐ language (what and how you speak)
- ☐ church affiliation
- ☐ Alsatian music, songs
- ☐ Alsatian food & recipes
- ☐ work ethic and values
- ☐ other (please specify) _____

24. What do you believe is the most effective way to preserve the Alsatian heritage?

(Please choose 3 items from the list and RANK them 1, 2, & 3)

- _____ private Alsatian language instruction
- _____ church programs
- _____ heritage organizations
- _____ city-sponsored programs
- _____ school programs
- _____ media (television, newspaper, internet)
- _____ other (please list)_____

25. Do you think Alsatian should be preserved? ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

26. Do you think Alsatian will be preserved? ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure

Comments:

27. "I can play an important part now in preserving Alsatian."

☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neutral ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

28. "The sister city exchange with the French Alsace plays an important role in preserving Alsatian."

☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neutral ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

29. Why do you think Alsatian is spoken less these days? (multiple answers ok)

- a. Alsatian is not useful
- b. Alsatian is not passed on to younger generations
- c. Alsatian has no future
- d. Alsatian speakers would rather speak English
- e. Spanish is more helpful as a second language

30. Which statement best describes you:

- a. Alsatian is a very important part of my identity
- b. Alsatian is an important part of my identity
- c. Alsatian is a part of my identity
- d. Alsatian is not a part of my identity

31. What do you think tourists consider “Alsatian” about your community?
(please RANK 1-3)

- _____ cuisine
- _____ architecture
- _____ names
- _____ religious traditions
- _____ language
- _____ shops
- _____ people
- _____ other: _____

32. “New residents are welcomed in our community.”

- ☐ agree strongly ☐ agree ☐ neutral ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

Comments:

33. What positive influences have new residents had?

34. Are there any negative influences you associate with the influx of new residents?

35. How do you view changing Castroville and surroundings? (check all that apply)

- ☐ very positive ☐ good ☐ necessary ☐ alarming ☐ sad ☐ terrible

☐ other (please explain) _____

Additional comments: _____

Thank you for your time!

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Appendix C: TGDP Questionnaire

Questionnaire – Texas German Dialect Project

In case a question does not apply to you, please skip it. All answers are kept strictly confidential. In case you feel like you would like to add information, please use sections labeled “additional comments.” Thank you very much for your help. We greatly appreciate it!

Name _____
 Year of Birth _____
 Place of Birth: _____
 Current place of residence: _____
 Previous places of residence: _____
 Religious affiliation: _____
 Which town or region did your ancestors come from in Europe?

- 1) Which language(s) did you learn first at home?
- 2) When you started school, which language(s) could you speak?
- 3) How old were you when you learned your second language?
- 4) Where and from whom did you learn your second language?
- 5) When you were a kid how often did you speak (a) German, (b) English, with _____?
 PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER(S). Please make sure to include information on your use of German AND English for each point. For example, if you circle “always” for German, then you are likely to circle “never” or “sometimes” for English.”

<u>Parents:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Grandparents:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Teacher:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Friends:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Siblings:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Neighbors:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never

Still when you were a kid- how often did you speak (a) German, (b) English, at _____?

<u>Church:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>School:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Home:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Shops:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	ometimes	never
<u>Large Family Gatherings:</u>						
	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Other:</u> (boy scouts, etc.)						
	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never

6) When you were older in the 1960s and 1970s, how often did you speak

(a) German, (b) English, with _____? PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER(S).

Please make sure to include information on your use of German AND English for each point.

<u>Parents:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>(if) Grandparents:</u>						
	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Co-workers:</u>						
	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Friends:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Siblings:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Spouse:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Children:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Neighbors:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never

Still in the 1960s and 1970s, how often did you speak (a) German, (b) English, at _____?

<u>Church:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Home:</u>	(German)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English)	Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never

<u>Shops:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Large Family Gatherings:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never

7) These days, how often do you speak (a) German, (b) English, with _____?

<u>(if) Parents:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>(if) Co-workers:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Friends:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Siblings:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Spouse:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Children:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Neighbors:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never

These days, how often do you speak (a) German, (b) English, at _____?

<u>Church:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Home:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Shops:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
<u>Large Family Gatherings:</u>	(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
	(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never

Additional Comments:

8) Do you belong to any local shooting or singing club (Verein)?

(a) Which ones?

(b) Do people speak German or English there? (Please circle)

(German) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never
(English) Always	Often	regularly	sometimes	never

Additional Comments:

9) Is there any other area of your public or private life where you speak German with people today?

Additional Comments:

10) Was German spoken at school when you were a kid? By whom?

Additional Comments:

11) (a) Was German taught at school?

(b) What about German grammar?

Additional Comments:

12) (a) Do you have a high school degree?

(b) Did you study German formally in high school?

13) (a) Do you have a college degree?

(b) Did you study German formally in college?

Additional Comments:

14) I speak (Please check one answer)

Fluently	Well	O.K.	A little bit	Not at all
English				
German				
Other lang.				

15) I understand (Please check one answer)

Very well	Well	O.K.	A little bit	Not at all
English				
German				
Other lang.				

Additional Comments: 16) Can you read German? Please circle your answer.

Very well quite well Not very well Can't read any

17) Can you write German? Please circle your answer.

Very well quite well Not very well Can't write any

18) Do you listen to German radio or watch German TV?

(such as in the community or on the internet...) Please circle your answer.

always often sometimes rarely never

19) Is it important to you that the type of German you learned to speak is passed on to younger generations, or is it just important that the German language in general is spoken by younger generations in Texas?

Additional Comments:

20) Do you wish your children spoke (Please circle your answer)

a) German: YES NO Don't know

b) Texas German: YES NO Don't know

Additional Comments:

21) Do you wish your grandchildren spoke ... (Please circle your answer)

a) German: YES NO Don't know

b) Texas German: YES NO Don't know

Additional Comments:

22) Do you think that Texas German should be preserved?

YES NO Don't know

23) Do you think that Texas German will be preserved?

YES NO Don't know

Additional Comments:

24) Is it important to you that the Texas German dialect be included on the primary school curriculum?

YES NO Don't know

25) Should the study of –

a) German be compulsory at school?

Compulsory Optional Don't Know

b) Texas German be compulsory at school?

Compulsory Optional Don't Know

Additional Comments:

26) Should there be any regular radio program in Texas German?

YES NO Don't know

27) Should there be any regular TV program in Texas German?

YES NO Don't know

Additional Comments:

- 28) Should Texas German be featured on all central Texas road signs?
YES NO Don't know
- 29) How do you primarily identify yourself? Please circle and rank your answers.
German?
American?
Texan?
American-German?
Texas-German?
As a resident of this city or county?
- 30) Why do you think Texas German is spoken less these days?
(Please circle appropriate answer. You may circle more than one answer)
- a) Texas German is not modern
 - b) Texas German is not passed on to younger generations
 - c) Texas German is not helpful on the job
 - d) Texas German speakers have it harder in school
 - e) Texas German is not a real language
 - f) Texas German speakers rather speak English
 - g) Texas German speaker rather speak Spanish

Additional comments:

- 31) I am proud to be a speaker of Texas German (Please circle one answer)
- a) I strongly agree
 - b) I agree
 - c) I don't know
 - d) I disagree
 - e) I strongly disagree

Additional comments:

- 32) Which of the following applies to you? (Please circle one answer)
- a) Texas German is an important part of my identity
 - b) Texas German is a part of my identity
 - c) Texas German is not important for my identity

Additional comments:

- 33) I am proud to be a speaker of English. (Please circle one answer)
- a) I strongly agree
 - b) I agree
 - c) I don't know
 - d) I disagree
 - e) I strongly disagree

Additional comments:

34) A world without Texas German would be

(Please check one answer each)

I strongly agree	I agree	I don't know	I don't agree	I strongly disagree
sad				
a possibility				
richer				
more modern				
impossible				
lacking something				
backwards				
something good				
more practical				
a lonely place				

Additional comments:

35) Please tell us how strongly you associate the following domains and terms with speaking English. (Please check the words that are most important to you)

Very strongly	Strongly	Somewhat	A little bit	Not at all
Home				
Official				
Friendly				
Cozy				
Foreign				
Religion				
Arrogant				
Rural				
Future				
Identity				
Urban				
Love				
Hate				
Family				

Additional Comments:

THANK YOU!!!!!!!!!!!!

Appendix D: Gilbert (1972) Sentences, Sample

Gilbert (1963) Sentences	#202	#234
a hairbrush	a hořbu:ʃt	a ho:ř...kam
He's running now.	ař dyet jets ře:na	ařent
two goats	tsvai ga:isa	tswai gaisa
one apple	ai ɛpfl	ai ɛpfl
icicles	i:stsapfa	aisıkl
the cooking pot	dř koxhɔ:fa	a ko:xpfɔn
my head	mi: kɔpf	mi kɔpf
the door	dɛř	dɛ:r
The table is broken.	d dıʃ ıʃ fɛřbřoxa.	d' dıʃ ıʃ fəke:t.
The animal died out in the pasture.	s di:ř ıʃ fɛřekt y:s im vɔlt.	ky:a ıʃ fəřekt im pastıjɾ.
It is too dry this year.	dɔs jɔ:ř ıʃ tsy třoka	ɛs ıʃ tsy ɖruka dɔs jo:r
water faucet	vɔsřhɔ:n	skipped.
Thursday	du:nʃık	dɔ:nʃtık
He took the most sausage.	ař hɔt d maıʃt fu d vuřʃt gnu:ma.	ar hat tsy fi:l vuřʃt gnu:ma.
a hairbrush	a hořbu:ʃt	skipped.
the door	a tɛř	skipped.
two daughters	tsvai do:xdɛřa	tsvai ma:idla
sweet potatoes	batha:təs	pathatə...siəsə katɔfl...no, that doesn't make sense...
two cooking pots	tsvai koxhɔ:fa	skipped.
a hairbrush	ho:řbu:ʃt	skipped.
This chicken has long feathers.	di:ə hy:ən hɔt lɔ:ɲi fɔdřa.	dija hy:n hat laɲi fa:darə.
It's lying down there on the floor.	ɛs le:kt dɔ:u ɔfm bo:uda.	ɛs le:kt ɔfm bo:da

Gilbert (1963) Sentences	#202	#234
the red ants that sting	řoudi ɔ:maisa vu ʃtaxa di:ən.	d ro:ti o:maɪza ...what is the word for sting?
my head	mi ko:pʃ	
milk	mɪlax	mɪlx
We went with her.	mř sin mɪtəřə gɔŋa.	mir sin mɪtm gɔŋa.
Who did we see?	veř hɔn meř ksɔ:na.	veř ɪʃ das ksei?
He came with me.	ař ɪʃ mɪt mɪř ku:ma.	ař ɪʃ mɪt meř kuma.
He's helping me now.	ař dyet meř ɛts hɔ:lfə.	əř hɪlft mɪř jets.
The little children see her.	d klaini kɪnř sɔ:ən si.	d klaini kɪnř sa:ən si.
Give her two pieces!	gɪpəřa tsvai ʃtyk.	si kã tswai ʃtɪkɿ hɔn.
We went with her.		mɪř sin gɔŋa mɪt epəř.
The picture belongs to them.	s bɪlt ke:řt a e:na.	s bɪlt, sal bɪlt ke:at tsy saləm.
Who did we see?	veř hɔn meř ksɔ:.	veř hɔn meř gsa:nə?
There's the man who I want to see.	dət ɪʃ tř mɔ:n vu ex gɔŋn dɛ:t zɔ:na.	dət ɪʃ dr mɔn vu ex vɪř sa:na.
There are the children who I gave the candy to.	da: sɪn d kɪnř vu ex s buŋbuŋ gɔ: ha:n.	dət sɪn tkɪnř vu ex hɔn d kændi ga:
This is my chair.	das ɪʃ mi: ʃtyəl.	das ɪʃ main ʃty:əl.
It is too dry this year.	sɪʃ tsy: třuka dɔs jo:ř.	
The dog bit that bad man.	d hu:nt hɔt sɔ:la be:s mɔn gbɪsa.	sal hunt hat sala mɔn gbɪsa.
The dog bit the bad man.	d hu:nt hɔt sɔ:la be:s mɔn gbɪsa.	
The little children see her.		dia kɪnř ly:əga, no, sa:n sali fřɔɪ.
the red ants that sting		di řo:di o:maɪza bi:sa.
There is something in your left eye.		ɛs ɪʃ ɛbɪs ɪn di:m li:nka oik.
Boil that egg in hot water.		mɔx sal aɪ ɪn haɪsa vɔsř.

Gilbert (1963) Sentences	#202	#234
a bad dream	a ʃlaxtə tʃɔim oðr̩ a vi:əʃtə tʃɔim	ex han tʃɔimt...A: beez
Hang the picture over the bed!	haŋs bɪlt o:va m bət	həŋ bɪlt iwəʃ mi bət
The picture hangs over the bed.	s bɪlt həŋt o:va m bət	s bɪlt həŋt bi mim bət.
He is putting the chair under the tree.		aʃ myes də ʃty:əl untɹ̩ də bɔim mɔxa.
He's sitting under the tree.		aʃ həkt ʊndəʃəm bɔim.
He's putting the chair beside the tree.		aʃ mɔxt d ʃty:əl bim bɔim.
He's sitting over there beside the tree.	aʃ sɪst da da:na ʊnəʃəm bɔim.	aʃ setst det a:na bim bɔim.
Put it on the floor!	mɔxs ʊf d bouda.	mɔxs an d bouda.
It's lying down there on the floor.	as li:kt det ʊf əm bouda.	as lɛ:kt ɔm bouda...dʃ hʊnt.
He goes into the room.	aʃ ge:t yo ɪns tsmɹ̩.	aʃ ge:t ɪn sal tsmɹ̩.
He is already in the room.	aʃ ɪʃ ʃo ɪm tsmɹ̩.	aʃ ɪʃ ʃo: ɪm tsmɹ̩.
two windows	tswai fɔ:nʃtɹ̩	tsvai fɔ:nʃtr
two rooms	tswai tsmɹ̩	tsvai tsmɹ
two plates	tswai plɔ:θa	tsvai tɔ:lr
two wagons	tswai vɑ:ga	tsvai wɑ:ga
two boys	tswai bi:əwələ	tsvai by:əbə
two goats	tswai gaɪza	tsvai ga:isə
This chicken has long feathers.	di:a hy:ən hət lɔŋi fɔ:dəʃa.	
two cows	tswai ki:ja	tsvai ki:jə
two gardens	tswai ga:ɹ̩θa	tsvai ga:ɹ̩ta
two daughters	tswai do:xtəʃ	tsvai maɪdlə, ʃvestəʃ
Two heads are better than one.	tswai kepf sɪn be:sʃ as aɪns.	tsvai kepf ɪʃ be:sr as aɪnə

Gilbert (1963) Sentences	#202	#234
the honey	s hu:nɪk	hunɪk
the door	dɛ:ɹ̥	
His coughing is getting worse and worse.	zi: hy:əʃta viɹ̥t ɪmɹ̥ ʃlɪmɹ̥.	aɹ̥ hy:ʃtɛt me: ʊn me:ɹ̥
He's helping me now.	aɹ̥ dyət mɪɹ̥ jets ha:lfa.	aɹ̥ hɪlft mɪr jets.
He's sleeping now.	ar ʃlo:ft jets	ar ʃlo:ft jets.
He eats too much.	aɹ̥ ɪst tsy fi:l.	aɹ̥ ɪst zy: fil.
He's washing his hands.	aɹ̥ dyət sini hɔnt vaʃa.	aɹ̥ vɔʃt sini hɔ:nt.
Look how that tree is falling down!	lyəga mol vi: sala bɔɪm saməke:t.	ly:ega mol, salla boim ke:t um; ly:ega mol vi d' boim umake:t.
He's running now.	əɹ̥ dy:ɛt jets ɹ̥e:na.	
You're ruining the food!		das asa ɪʃ kɹ̥eni:rt.
What was his name anyway?	vɔs ɪʃ sini nɔ:ma dɔx gse:	vɔs ɪʃ si nɔ:ma?
This month it snowed three times.	da mɔ:nat hɔts dɹ̥aimol gʃnait.	da mɔ:nat hɔts gʃnait dɹ̥aimol.
I've known that man for many years.	ɪx hɔn sala mɔn kent ʃo: feɹ̥ fi:l jo:ɹ̥ə	ɛx hɔn salar kent ʃo: lɔŋ.
What did they name the child?	vɔs hɔn si skɪnt khaisa?	vɔs ɪʃ sainəm kɪnt si nɔ:ma...?
Give her two pieces!		
Take fifty-five dollars!	nɪm fɛmfʊnfɪmstɪk dɔlə:ɹ̥.	
They're taking it away.	zi nɔmas ja no avak.	zi hans fʊɹ̥tgnɔma.
She caught a cold.	si hɔt a fəɹ̥keltʊŋ bəkʊma.	as ɪʃ fɛ:kɛlta.
He told us that.	ja, aɹ̥ hɔts mɪɹ̥ ksait.	aɹ̥ hɔt ʊns ksait.
Look how that tree is falling down!	lyəga mol vi: sala bɔɪm saməke:t.	
They're taking it away.	si namas jo navak.	
You were both here yesterday.	ɪɹ̥ sɪn yo baidi do kse: gɛʃtərt.	mɪɹ̥ sɪn baidi do: kse: gɛʃərt.

Gilbert (1963) Sentences	#202	#234
There are the children who I gave the candy to.		
He arrived yesterday.	ɑř ɪʃ ākumə ɡɛʃtərt.	ɑř ɪʃ do: kse: ɡɛʃəřt.
We went home.	miř sɪn haim.	miř sɪn haim ɡɔ:ŋɑ.
You were both here yesterday.	iř sɪn yo beidi do kse: ɡɛʃtərt.	
two daughters		tswai maidla
He pinches me.		ɑř hɔt mɛx pfatst.
cabbage	kɾy:t	ɡřyt
a horse	ɑ ɾɔs	ɑ řo:s

Appendix E: Eikel (1954) Sentences, Sample

TGDP 🎵18-202-3-a.eaf

WORKSHEET 1:

1. Güete Morge.
2. Gütn Àve.
3. Salu.
4. Sie geht garn in d'Schüel.
5. Ar kummt e;mer ture z'Àve.
6. Mir han z'Àve g'aasse un dann sin mir ab.
7. A klein Kind hat mi àdroufe.
8. Biecher ufm Tisch sin mi:.
9. A Ràtt isch gre:isser as a Mùs.
10. A Glàs frisch Wässer

English sentence:

- Good morning.
 Good evening.
 Goodbye.
 She likes to go to school.
 He always comes by in the evening.
 We ate supper in the evening and left.
 A little child met him.
 The books on the table are mine.
 A rat is larger than a mouse.
 A glass of fresh water

WORKSHEET 2:

1. Ich tün das nitte erinnere.
2. ,S kert ihm Racht.
3. Sie hat Blümle in d'Hand kà.
4. Er hat mir nur a klei bizzele ga'a.
5. Ich wunder wo du jetzt hergesch.
6. Das hat mer fufzig Do:ulor koschte
7. Da Gummireife hat mir zwölf Dollür koschte.*
8. Bena:nes koschte fufzig [cents] s'Pfund.
9. Won'r siebezeh Jahr g'se: isch, isch er ab vu heim.
10. Ich war nitt z'fred wenn ich n ...wenn ich nur elfi het.

English sentence:

- I don't remember that anymore.
 That serves him right.
 She had the flowers in her hand.
 He gave me only a little bit.
 I wonder where you are going.
 That cost me fifty dollars.
 This tire sells for twelve dollars.
 The bananas are fifteen cents a pound.
 When he was seventeen years old he left home.
 I wouldn't be satisfied with only eleven.

WORKSHEET 3:

1. Er hat immer Problem mit si:ne Ohre.
2. Ich han Angscht er verliert alle si Gald.
3. ,S Holz isch im Fiehr.
4. Dreih d'r Hahn ab, d'r Eimr isch vo:ul.
5. S komme si an was sie kauft han im Schrank.
6. Sin zwei Quilte wo ufm Bett le:ge.

English sentence:

- He always has trouble with his ear.
 I am afraid that he will lose his money.
 The wood is in the fire.
 Turn off the faucet; the bucket is running over.
 The groceries are in the pantry.
 There are two quilts lying on the bed.

Appendix F: Interview Transcriptions

TGDP #239

D: Well, they say I talk different, I don't know...

I: You talk different?

D: Well, I don't know.

I: Like your Alsatian is different?

D: Yeah, well, it's an Alsa...it's more...but I couldn't talk a word of English when I started school. I did not know English and so, you know it was so hard for me. But in what, about a month, I caught on pretty well.

And then I got to be valedictorian of my class in my school, and my sister, she didn't, she was five years younger, and she didn't talk English either, you know, and when she went to school...well, she learned it, I tried to teach her then before...when I went to school.

So one day I took her to school, they said you could bring your siblings along and I took her along...she was talking Elsess so she says, "I want, wu isch mi Kittl? And I said.

Lord, I got so embarrassed and I said, "Don't say that, say 'coat.' You shouldn't talk like that.

I: She just was talking what she knew.

D: Well, she wanted her coat, you know. And I got embarrassed and I said, "Don't talk like that." And then she come home and she told Mama, "Oh, boy, she really did give it to me, because I said I wanted mi Kittel, vell, Mama, sie hat gsàgt, Darlene hat gsaijt, Nei, dü sollsch nitt so reeda."

I:

D: sie hat gsaijt, well, das isch, dü brüchsch nitt worry, well lass nur geh, das, dü lehrtch so genuch. And she learned it.

I: Wann bisch du geboore?

D: Ix bin gboora am drisigschte Dezember in ninzihundertsechsunzwanzik an dr drisigscht Tag.

I: Gratuliere.

D: What?

I: Gratuliere.

D: Joo. Ix han das Johr was mir gfallt, awr nitt ganz.

I: Und wo bis du geboore?

D: In LaCoste, uf dr Farm, mir han, mir sin gwoohnt drei Mile vu LaCoste, s'Stedtle vu LaCoste.

I: un die Schuel?

D: mir sin in d'Schuel ganga in LaCoste, siewe Joohr, und dann sin mir in Castroville ganga, in das, in d' katholisch Schüel und dett bin ix fertig, dett han ix fertig gmacht.

I: Un was hasch dü do: glehrt? Mathematik, Lesa, Schreibe...

D: oh, ja. Alles, ziemlich guet...d'Schwester sin ziemlich guet gsei. Die han uns guet glehrt.

I: Habt ihr Franzees glehrt?

D: well, i...nei nun uh.

I: Nur Englisch?

D: on... Spanisch, awr sall isch nitt..salle Spanisch hat uns nitt kholfa jetz. *Sall isch nur mit Mexikaner wella reeda diën.*

I: Un, redsch dü jetz Spanisch?

D: Nitt viel. No.

I: Abr a bizzl.

D: Oh, ix kann versteh, awr da isch alles.

Ix kann versteh wenn sie reeda wàga mer.

I: Ja, das isch guet. Das isch wichtig. Un Dietsch?

D: a bizzele Dietsch, mini Grossmuetr isch kumma vu Austria, Switzerland...sie isch a Schwiezer gsei. Sie hàt mee...uh sie hàt nitt guet Alsatian kenna reeda. Un sie hat nia lehrt fir, sie hat nia in d'Schuel kenna geh, sie isch..sie hat nia kenna, sie hat kenna ihra Nàma schriewa, awr das isch alles, was sie hat kenna schriewa. Awr sie hat, sie isch, sie hat alles gegürt d' Froi hat alles kenna alles so hert schàffa un alles, awr sie hat nitt kenna schriewa und so Dengs. Un das isch real, es isch so hert ksei, beca..ihra Mann isch gstorwa, wos die jungscht gkei ist . . . sei jungest Kousin. Das klei, das letschta Kind, isch nur sechs Jahr alt ksei un dono hat sie fienf Kindr kaa un mi Vàtr isch dr zweit ksei un dr hat au müesse halfa fer d' Famila raise. Ja, weisch, wia han müessa geh, sie han nitt kenna alles macha.

I: Natürlich.

D: die han ziemlich herta uh, d'Ding kaa und d'r kumma un sie hat dr, salli Zit isch niks gsei, weisch, wo du hasch kenna verwietscha. Sie han a Familia kaa, un han Kieha kaa un han Hienr weisch kaa un han Eir vrkäuft un milla un so dengs un han a bizzela... sie han Korn und so dengs gsetzt a bizzela, weisch, und han a ...ix weis nitt, ix bin alt. Ix kann nitt alles san un weis nitt alles, awr, drno, wenn ix uf d'Walt kumma bin, drno sin mir in namliga Hüs gsei, wu mini Muetr isch da, dett g'labt, wu sie kierotet hat, sin sie in dett gewohna mit minr Grossmuetr. Un da sin di ganza Lawa, solanga d'Grossmuetr gsei isch, sin sie mit der gwohnt. Un drno...

I:

D: un sie isch einunachzig gsei, glaub ix, wu sie g'storwa ist.

I: Un hast du als Kind dann viel g'holfa? Oder viel helfe müsse?

D: Well, ziemlich viel, o ja. Mir han muessa. Un dr, mi Vatr hat Àsthma kaa so schlimm un hat emmr vun d'Pneumo:nia verwitscht un some ham muessn mir,.. well mini Schweschtr hat nitt, sie isch vier Jahr gsei, awr mir han muen alles macha. Ix han muesse malka morga vor mir in d'Schuel, mir sin glaufa, weisch, in d'Schuel nàch LaCoste, sin mir am seveni furtganga un sin mir in d Kira gànga un sin in dr Mass ganga un sin futt. Mir sin dert gsei um acht Ü:hr. Un widdr z'Ove han mir widdr heim muessa kumma un halfa weddr un z'nacht han mir no kenna mer unsr dengas macha fir d'Schuel awr mir han kei electricity un niks odr so kaa un han muessa un mir han Lamps kaa, weisch, un so dengas un s'wassr isch drus gsei un, es isch nitt im Hus gsei...

I: so ne quelle.

D: Ja, es isch uf dr laundry gsei. un drof isch a Holzofa gsei un han mir muessa s'Holz inne tràga.

I: Das war hert..

D: Ja, da isch a hertr Tag gsei. Un das isch dr einzigscht...weil hammir Holz, Mama, Muettr hat alles, weisch, gràga und un alles gbacha, weisch, in dam Oofa.

I: Brot,...

D: Un als sie, uh, immr im Wintr han mir, weisch, Schwein odr so Säu sei, weisch, g'schlacht, un das isch unsr Leib, was hammir...

TGDP #202: 18-202-1-2-a.wav

I: Also, nochmals, Sie sind wo geboren?

J.J.: Nitt do:u in Castorville, ich bin in uf dr Ranch geboore, un das isch halbwegs vu Castroville zü San Antonio, hat mierer Grossvatr à Rànch kàa un dett bin ich uf dr Welt g'kumme. . . een Marz, der zweiunzwanzigscht niinzihundertunniinundriisig.

18-202-1-3-a.wav:

J.J.: A pàr Johr z'rück.

I: Und wann Sind Sie nach Castroville gezogen?

J.J.: Wu ich kierotte han, sin mir... han mir das Hüs gebäue un sin do:u... haam... mir g'wohn do:u schtaes sitr denn zweiunsachzig bis jetz

I: Und Sie gehen jetzt jeden Tag zurück auf die Ranch?

J.J.: Ja. Datt Ranch isch salte Wag gege Hundo:u, es isch nitt gege San Antonio... es isch glei dett fir dett...wu es heisst Quihi.

I: A ja, Quihi...

J.J.: Sall hat der Castro oi inschtalliert det, abr sin drno zwanzig Iiwohner noch... un a Tänzplätz.

I: Das ist schön.

J.J. Jà.

I: Und haben sie noch Tiere...auf der Ranch?

J.J.: Ja, ja...nimmr so viel wege, well es isch zu trukke g'sei das Johr i han un fir un paar Tag verkaüft, es isch schrecklich trukke g'see das Johr.

I: Und jetzt mit dem Eissturm. Haben sie hier unten Eis gehabt?

J.J.: Ja, ja. Me:ir dëtt es do:u. Dett geschtert noch, s'isch mehr i:s uf d'r Baimäschtr g'see.

I: Un viel Eis?

J.J.: Ja, ja. Kà Schnee, grad nur I:s. Weisch, was i han...I han uh, ich bin amàl im Elsass g'see un han a Reh kà: un wo es vorüwer g'seh isch, han i , han i g'sieht, mir wisse alli

wia unseri Nescht wächse, abr es meint meihr wenn mir weiss wu de Wuuzl harkummt.
Gal, wennma ka Wüzl hat, hat ma nix.

I: So ist das. Das ist sehr wichtig, oder? Finde ich gut,...ah, das sind ja schön, diese Sprüche auch.

Ja.

18-202-1-4-a.

I: Ja, und, uh, ihre Eltern jetzt nochmals, sind sie auch auf der Ranch geboren, oder?

J.J. Ja, alli, sall Zit han mir ka Hoschpital kaa, d-d-der Arzt, dr Doktr isch uf d'Ranch kumme fuer wenn a, wenn a Jung uf d'Walt kumme isch. Primitiv, ...

I: Ja, na ja, halt, so wie es ist...

J.J. abr so isch g'sei uewerall, es isch nitt nur do: gsei, s'isch...

I: Und die Grosseltern auch auf der Ranch, wie...

J.J. uh-huh...

I: oder?

J.J.: JA, auf der Jungmann Sit. All wisse mir d'Familienname von mine Erergrossvatr und müettr, es isch Jungmann, Ha--Hans, Machler, Tschirhart, Bo:ell, Aether, uhh...da muess ich noch danke... so da achtzehn g'sei, ja? Arnold, Wernette, ach nitt Wernette, Harvey, und das sind die der Name isch in d'r ganz Gegend, a Name in unserer Familie

18-202-1-5-a.

J.J.: A Witz. Wenn a Elsassr un sini Maidle hierote tie, und dann: fuer zwei Johr danach sie verheiro:te sin, tien sie scheide, abr sie sin immr zweet Kousins. (laughter)

I: A ja, so ist das. (laughter)

O ja, ... (laughter)

sind alle total verwandt.

J.J. Ja, sin alle verwandt.

18-202-1-6-a.

I: Ja, ich meine, wir haben ein bisschen davon gesprochen, wie Castroville sich geaendert hat, nicht wahr, so Castroville ist nicht mehr wie damals.

J.J.: Na, no, es isch, d'Elsassich Sproch isch do: verlo:re, wiel viel von d'r elsassr Maidla un Bueba dien Amerikaner hiero:te odr Mexikaner, dann isch scho fertig, weil sie koenne anandr nitt steh--versteh un sie mien Englisch rede, do isch d'Sproch verlo:re. In ein Generatiõ isch alles verlo:re. Un das seht man scho.

I: Sie haben auch Geschwister?

J.J.: Ich kumm nitt nach.

I: Sie haben Geschwister, also Brüder und Schwestern?

J.J.: Ich? Ja, abr sie rede ka Elsassisch. I han zwei Brüedr un a Schwester jiengr as ich und es isch wage m zweiten Waltkrieg, wiel wenn wir uewer in San Antonio gange sin, sin sie nitt serviert worde, will dia was gschafft kaa han, die Amerikanr, die han gemeint, die rede Elsassisch, ich mein Dietsch, g'meint, das sin Schwo:ve, mit den sie nitt serviere, drno: sin sie wiedr heimkumme, dia was gange sin fir iekäu--kaufe und haan g'sait zuanander, mir rede nimmr Elsass mit d'r Kindr, das profitiert sie nitt, es wart bessr wennma nur Englisch rede mitinne, un s'isch gottsalle Kranz... war ganz weit Weltkrieg as d'elsassisch sprochen nimm grad wit, mit d'Liet wuu--wie ich—ich bin siebeunsachzig und die jiengere, s, siebe un--ach ich sag zweiunsachzig, sie rede kei elsassisch mehr, sie verstehens abr sie re—sie rede es nitt.

18-202-1-7-a

I: Das war auch in den Schulen, haben Sie gesagt, das war auch der Unterschied ne also Englisch und Elsassisch...

J.J.: Du meinsch, in d'r Schüel, wenn es isch verbo:te g'sei, wenn d'Schwester uns han hör Elsassisch rede, han sie uns—s'isch a Strouf g'sei, da angels han uns d'Finger verschlag odr a, odr a Ohrefieg, a Batsch uf d'Ohre, oh es isch, ja ich sag [das Elsassisch]...

I: Das durfte man überhaupt nicht. Und draussen dann, in der Pause, in der Schulpause, haben Sie dann Elsassisch gesprochen? Oder? ...

J.J.: umm,...

I: In der Schule, aber in der Pause, ...

J.J.: i-i-in...

I: in de—in recess—

J.J.: Recess, ja . . . in d'Speelzit hasch dü nitt dürfe Elsassisch rede, dü hasch müesch Englisch rede. Noch a Ding, was o:i komisch isch, d'Scheschter han sie doheig'schickt fir uns lehre eh uh Schüellehrer, un dia han bis--das isch nitt mini Zit g'sei, abr in miner Vatr sini Zit—un dia sin üssm Lothringer kumme, en achzinjohrhunertsechsunsiebezig han sie d'Schwester dahei g'schickt abr sie han uns—nitt mich--mi Vatr un Elter han in Hochdietsch han immr d'Büchle, d'Massbüchle un d' Katechismus un alles isch Hochdietsch g'sei.

Und woher kamen die Schwester?

Üssm Lothringer. Lorraine, Dabo. Weischdu wo Dabo isch?

Ja, ja, natürlich.

Wo d'Papscht Leon d'r Nint uf d'Walt kumme isch.

Ja, ja...

Hasch dü das g'wisst?

Ja., ja, ... nee, nee, das wusste ich nicht.

JA! Der Papscht. Der Nint. Loui—Leon. Das isch da wo's, wo s'Gesetz g'macht i--han in d'r katholisch Kirch, as Vatr kenne nitt hiero:te. Das isch anander G'schicht, das isch ganz interessant...

I: Und also die Schwestern sind hierhergeschickt worden, für was, vier, vier Jahre oder so, oder für, für ...

J.J.: Sie sin noch immr do:

I: Aa, sie sind da...

J.J.: Our Lady of the Lake University. . .

I: aja.

J.J.: Sall sin d'Schwester von Divin Providans.

I: [ok]

J.J.: Das Kloischter do: in Castrville uf d'r Achtsit, sall han sie erscht g'beuje. Gald han se g'schickt un Schwester, un han sall dreistöckig Kloischter--jetz heisst's Moye, Moye Center. Abr sin nur noch a paar Schwester do:, uh ... fir a Retraite so Dinges.

18-202-1-8-a

I: Und gab es nur die katholische Schule?

J.J.: Ja, abr nur, nur uh sechs Johr, drumin sie zu d'r gewehnlik Schule geh.

I: Und das war dann eine öffentliche Schule?

J.J.: Umh? Kümme?

I: Die öffentliche Schule dann nach diesen er....nach sechs Jahren?

J.J.: umhum, un dann drumin sie zu Medina. Normal, ja. Püblük.

I: aja.

J.J.: Medina Valley Independent School District und das isch d' Ludwigesschüel, San Louis Schüel. Dett bin ich in d'Schüel zwölf Johr. Dann han sie es ganz züeg'macht, dann han sie's langsam z'rückg'brocht. Jetz meine sie wann man mal bis ächt Johr geh in im nächscht odr mans Johr Jordan.

18-202-1-9-a (Vater Unser)

Noch a Ding, was ich garne verzahle. Ich bin jetz im Elsass scho zehn Mäl g'sei und han nie a nitt ei Mensch g'funde, was d'r Vatr Unser kànn sage in elsassisch Dietsch. Un ich kànn. Mini Ergrossmüetr hat's mir's g'lehrt . . .un das geht:

Vatr Unsr, wer isch im Himml,

Heilig isch Di Name,

Dini Keinigracht kummt,

Di Will bassiert uf dar Walt as wie im Himml.

Gebb uns hë:t unsr taglik Brot—eh, jetz müess ich wiedr danke—

Gebb uns hë:t unsr taglik Brot und vergib uns unsre Schulde

Wie mir dia vergabe wu es schuldig sin gege uns.
Fier uns nitt in Versüechtung un frei uns von alles Beises.

Un es isch noch nia, noch nia ei Mensch ànderufe...sie kenne es in Franzeis, sie kenne es
in Hochdietsch, abr nitt in Elsassisch.

I: Das ist ja phantastisch.

J.J.: Un das, das Databasis jetz in der Archive in [Strassburg University] Linguist
Departement.

I: Schön.

J.J.: Ja.

I: und wer das mein das epper das gelehrt in Elsassisch, abr ich han noch nia ei andero:fe,
was kann sage.

18-202-1-10-a

I: Kinderlieder oder so Sprueche

J.J.: Unh-unh

I: Von Ihrer Grossmutter

Ja, das isch das einzigschte Gebat, was ich kann erinnere. Sie hat mir mehr gelehrt, abr
das isch mir im Kopf gebliewe . . . Vater Unser.

I: Kennen Sie zufaellig Schibi, schibi, schibo? Klingt das irgendwie aehnlich? Nein? Ja.,
dann lassen wir das. Aber auch Kinderlieder wissen Sie nicht mehr, so

J.J.: Kinderlieder.

I: Lieder...zum Singen.

J.J.: Oooooo.

I: Zum Singen.

J.J.: Ich kann nitt so guet singe, aber ich, aber s ahhh, Poem, Vers,

I: Uhuh.

J.J.: Riem, a Riem, gel?

J.J. Saekele, Glaekele, Haenele, Haar,
hat a Faedele wie ne Bar...

I: Schoen.

J.J.:

Wia luschtig sin die Mannela

Mit ihri volli Kannela

Wia voller as d'Kannela sin

Wi mee luschtig as die Mannela sin.

Wia luschtig sin d' Wiebela

Mit ihri siessi Triebela

Wia siesser as die Triebela sin,

Wia mee luschtig as die Wiebela sin.

Wia luschtig sin d'Kindela
Mit ihri volli Windela
Wia voller as die Windela sin,
Wia mee luschtig as die Kindela sin.
Es geht an un an un an... (laughter)

I: Das sind ja schoene Sachen.
Also, Geschwister koennen kein Elsassisch

11-a

I: und Ihre Frau auch nicht, oder? Ja...

Also, mini Freu isch...e:hri Liet sin alli ues d'r Gegen Beifurt g'sei. Beifurt in d' achtzehnt Jahrhundert isch zum Elsass gehert, abr sie han nur es isch a Sprochgranz. Sie hat Franzesch gelehrt un hat uh... uh... Elsassisch gelehrt. Jetzt isch sie Salfert Department...Beifurt. Kennscht due s'Elsass a wenigle?

I: ein wenig, ja.

J.J.: Weisch due wo Rougemont isch?

I: Ja.

J.J.: Okay. . . that's in Cheil, Sitr, Boubel, Frei, un Moullei un Pijot. Das sin alli in mini Freu, ehri, ehr, ehr Grossfamil g'sei. Un grad ueber d'Granz isch wu Tschirharts g'kumme sin. Soppe le haut, Soppe le Bas... und dett han sie nur Elsassich g'reddt un es isch nix, es isch nur Luft d'zwische, es isch ...abr salli uf d'Befur Sit-Belfurt isch uf d'r Landkart-b-e-l-f-o-r-t—abr in, in elsassisch sage sie Beifurt. Um-huh... Soppe-le-Haut isch in Elsassisch Sulzbach...Soppe-le-Haut, das isch Franzeisch, Soppe-le-Haut, Soppe-le-Bas, un ich bin scho dett g'sei, in soppe-e-Haut un in Beifurt in Rougement, uh,...

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Vita

Karen Ann Roesch was born to Joanne Powell Collins and Bryan D. Collins on March 3, 1953, in San Antonio, Texas. At age five, her parents were assigned to Zweibrücken, Germany, with the U.S. Air Force. This was the beginning of a lasting relationship with Germany and its language. At age ten, she returned to San Antonio, Texas, with her parents and siblings, and finished her schooling. She graduated from Winston Churchill High School in 1971. She attended Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas, and received a B.A. magna cum laude in German and English in 1974, which included a year abroad at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg, Germany.

After receiving her B.A., she returned to Germany and taught German, English, and French at Privatschule Königshofen near Wiesbaden during the day and English at the Frankfurt Volkshochschule in the evenings. She spent two years in Melbourne, Australia, during which she taught German at Donvale Christian School before moving to New York. Here she taught both German and English as a Foreign Language at the German School in White Plains, New York. In 1990, she again moved with her husband and family to Tokyo, Japan, where she first taught German at the Goethe Institute, and then Language Arts at the American School in Japan. During this time, she attended summer education courses at the Michigan State University campus in Valbonne, France, and in 2000, received an M.A. summa cum laude in Teaching and Curriculum from Michigan State University. After returning to Texas in 2000, she decided to pursue a Ph.D. in German and attended the University of Texas in Austin while teaching German language and content courses there as an Assistant Instructor. She is currently a German Lecturer in the Department of Modern Languages at Texas State University.

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